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CONTENTS

The Test of a Reformer: A Study of Seth Low, New York City Mayor, 1902–1903 . . . STEVEN C. SWETT 5

The Britons Who Fought at Stony Point: Uniforms of the American Revolution . . RICHARD J. KOKE 43

Journey to Niagara, 1805: From the Diary of Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz . . . . METCHIE J. E. BUDKA 73

Book Reviews and Notices:

Kessler & Rachlis, *Peter Stuyvesant and His New York* ELLIS L. RAESLY 114

Wainwright, *George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat* PAUL A. W. WALLACE 115

Cuneo, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers* . MILTON W. HAMILTON 117

Cook, *What Manner of Men: Forgotten Heroes of the American Revolution* . . . ALICE CURTIS DESMOND 118

MacCracken, *Blithe Dutchess: The Flowering of an American County from 1812* . . . . RICHARD J. KOKE 119

Gibson, *Soldiers of the Word: The Story of the American Bible Society* . . BERNARD A. WEISBERGER 120

Remini, *Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party* . . . . . JAMES A. FROST 122

Van Deusen, *The Jacksonian Era, 1828–1848* ROBERT V. REMINI 123

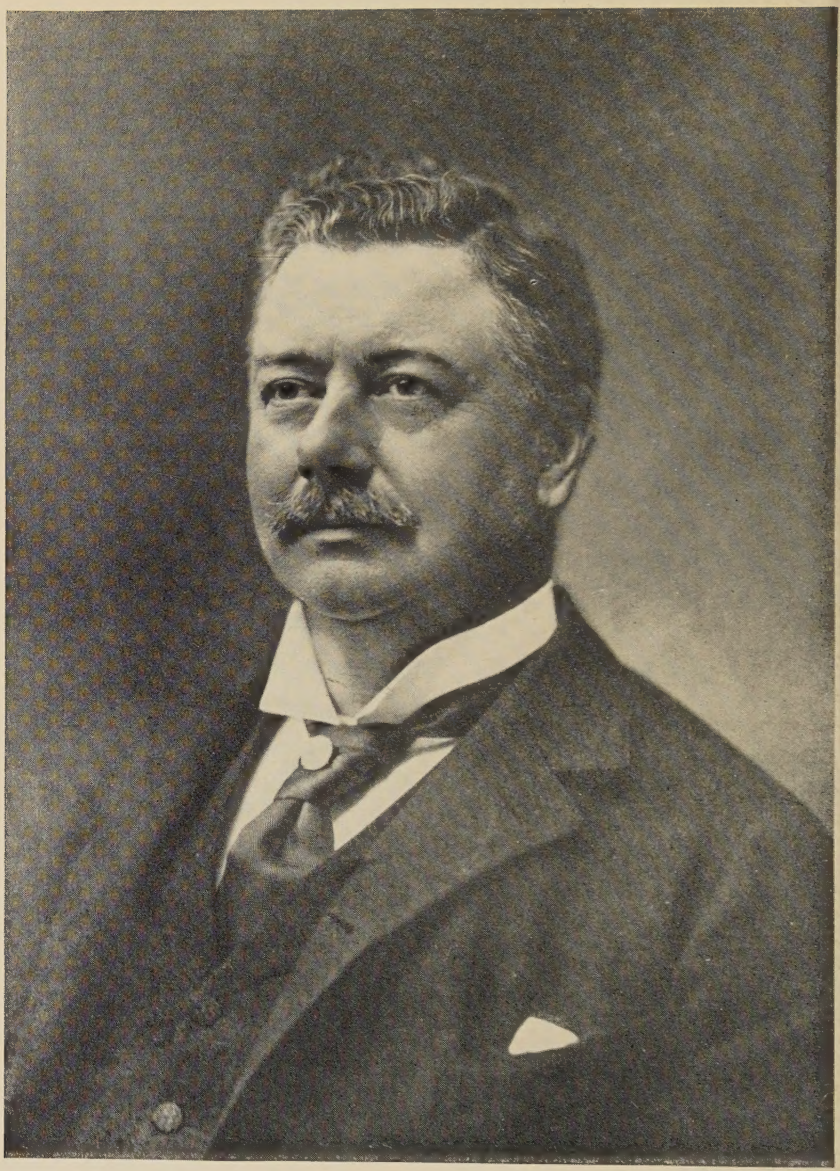
Spencer, *The Victor and the Spoils* . . . . JAMES J. HESLIN 124

Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* . . . OTELIA CROMWELL 125

Nevins, *The War for the Union, Volume I: The Improvised War, 1861–1862* . . . . JAMES J. HESLIN 126

Quaife, ed., *From the Cannon's Mouth: The Civil War Letters of General Alpheus S. Williams* . . JOHN E. PARSONS 127

Gardner & Smith, *Genealogical Research in England and Wales* . . . . . R. W. G. VAIL 128



SETH LOW (1850–1916)

Mayor of the City of New York, 1902–1903

Photograph at The New-York Historical Society

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THE TEST OF A REFORMER

A STUDY OF SETH LOW, NEW YORK CITY MAYOR, 1902–1903

by STEVEN C. SWETT

Wall Street Journal

SETH LOW'S two years as Mayor of New York City were at once the high point of his life and his most severe trial. Until the defeat of Tammany Hall and his election on November 6, 1901, Low had moved from one career to another with the easy assurance wealth and social position give to a man of strong intellect and great perseverance. But for all his achievements in business, education, and government this reformer with a national reputation had exhibited none of the personal magnetism and instinct for showmanship which endear one man to many and smooth the path of public office. Neither by nature nor inclination was he a politician. Yet his election was about to put him

in an alien world where personality far outweighed principle, and politicians survived far longer than political theorists. Low's challenge was to put into practice a broad program of municipal reform—a program he had been fashioning for over twenty years—and, while doing so, to satisfy the needs of a sufficient majority of New Yorkers to win re-election.

This was no easy job in a city where seventy-five percent of the population was either foreign by birth or parentage, where only nineteen percent of the eligible male voters were native Americans, and where a heterogenous, cosmopolitan people, ever conscious of class distinctions, lived in crowded slums and tenements so repulsive to the "silk-stocking" set of which Low was a prominent member.[1] Ethnically, he represented the indigenous Yankee-Protestants who demanded disinterested public service based on principles and abstract law, where a higher morality displaced personal obligations. The dominant political and social mores of the city, however, came from an immigrant population which relied on authority, hierarchy, and laws enforced pragmatically. In this world of the "Tenderloin" and the Lower East Side, family obligations took precedence over civic obligations and politics was a trade run by a boss and his machine.[2]

I

Low was born on January 18, 1850, in Brooklyn, twenty-five years before the municipal reform movement began in the United States.[3] He was educated in private schools in Brooklyn, traveled

[1] Delos F. Wilcox, "The First Municipal Campaign of Greater New York," *Municipal Affairs*, II:2 (June 1898), 208–9; Charles Beard, *American City Government* (New York: 1912), 26; *United States Twelfth Census*, II, 332; Kate Holladay, "Foreign Immigration and the Tenement House in New York City," in Robert W. DeForest and Lawrence Veiller, eds., *The Tenement House Problem* (New York: 1903), II, 67–88.

[2] Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: 1956), 8–9, 180–84.

[3] Clifford W. Patton, *The Battle for Municipal Reform* (Washington: 1940). Low's father had moved to Brooklyn to Massachusetts in 1840, where the family had lived since the 17th century. The family apparently adapted well to its adopted State, for Low once observed to a friend, "After all, we are the 'Knickerbockers' of New York."—William M. Sloan, "The Life of Seth Low," *American Scenic and*

extensively in Europe and the United States, and was graduated from Columbia College, reportedly described by President Barnard as "the first scholar in college and the most manly fellow we have had in many a year."[4] A year's flirtation with Columbia Law School ended in 1871 when he joined the family's internationally famous clipper-trading firm; here he was educated in finance and became intimate with New York City commerce. On his own initiative in 1877 he enlisted as a Volunteer Visitor to the Poor in Brooklyn. Two years later he organized and became the first president of that city's Bureau of Charities. During this period, while active in Republican politics in his ward, Low sponsored and became the first president of the Republican Club; its purpose was the promotion of the election of Garfield and Arthur in 1880.[5]

In the first of five mayoralty tries (two in Brooklyn), Low was nominated in 1881 by a Brooklyn Citizens Committee as a compromise Republican candidate against the machine-nominee of Democratic boss Hugh McLaughlin.[6] Local newspapers described him as "having a comprehensive knowledge of the affairs of Brooklyn" and as representative of "the best type of citizen." He waged a campaign against political spoilsmanship and government by party. He was elected to office with "more power than any other mayor in the United States," by virtue of a new city charter which centralized administrative responsibility and gave him unprecedented power of appointment and removal.[7]

His 4,000-vote margin in 1881 slipped to 1,800 in his 1883 reelection, but his backers joyfully claimed their platform of home

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Historic Preservation Society, XXIV (1917), 705. Any discussion of Seth Low is handicapped by the dispersal of his papers. After his death on September 17, 1916, his wife haphazardly distributed much of his personal correspondence to friends and organizations with which he was connected.

[4] Benjamin R. C. Low, *Seth Low* (New York: 1925).

[5] *New York Tribune*, supplement, October 26, 1897; Edward Carey, "Seth Low: A Character Sketch," *Review of Reviews*, XVI (July 1897), 34–35.

[6] Harold Syrett, *The City of Brooklyn, 1865–1898* (New York: 1944), 98–103.

[7] *Union-Argus*, Brooklyn, September 17, 1881, as quoted in Syrett, *op. cit.*, 103; Seth Low, "An American View of Municipal Government in the United States," in James Bryce, *American Commonwealth* (New York: 1888), I, 659–60.

rule and nonpartisan government had been sustained. By 1885, when he declined to stand for a third term because of pressing family business and his conviction that the job he was drafted for had been completed, Low's record, if unspectacular, nevertheless was substantial. His appointments had been based on fitness rather than party service. He had reduced the city's debt, reformed the tax system, and curbed persistent interference by the State legislature in city affairs. Most important, he had awakened interest in their city government among normally apathetic voters, with the result that his name became synonymous with efficient, responsible municipal administration. Elated by one success among so many failures, reformers throughout the country "elevated him to the position of an authority on municipal government."[8]

In the role of political theorist he came to the attention of Lord James Bryce. This distinguished student of American government commissioned Low in 1888 to write "An American View of Municipal Government in the United States" for Bryce's *American Commonwealth*.[9] Low's chapter was a closely reasoned analysis and argument which contained some of the most advanced thinking of the day. His thesis then, as well as during his New York mayoralty and in countless addresses and pamphlets thereafter, represented a businessman's outlook.[10]

He described the rapid, helter-skelter growth of American cities which were too often crippled by meddling State legislatures, by poorly conceived city charters, and by an unwillingness to concentrate administrative responsibility. The partisanship of the spoils system and one-party domination of government, fed

[8] David K. Rothstein, "Mayor Seth Low," *Columbia University Quarterly*, XXXII (December 1940), 304; Carey, *op. cit.*, 37; Syrett, *op. cit.*, 134.

[9] Seth Low, "An American View," *op. cit.*; this article Low revised for the 1910 edition of *American Commonwealth*.

[10] Seth Low, "A Problem of Municipal Government in the United States," an address before the Historical and Political Science Association of Cornell University, March 16, 1897 (Ithaca: 1897); "The Problem of City Government," an address to the students of History and Politics in Johns Hopkins University, reprinted from the *Civil Service Reformer*, April 1889; "New York in 1850 and in 1890: A Political Study," an address delivered before The New-York Historical Society, November 17, 1891 (New York: 1892); and "An Address of President Seth Low at the 14th Annual Meeting of the National Civic Federation," December 11, 1913 (New York: 1913).

by a flood of immigrants untrained in self-government, compounded what he viewed as the directionless path of city administration. Low turned to charter reform, nonpartisan municipal elections, and an aroused civic consciousness as his way of creating a unified, cohesive corporate government run along business lines, free from outside influence, and accountable only to the people and not to any political organization. Although Low tolerated national party allegiance, he most earnestly desired the eradication of local party loyalty of the type Tammany Hall so successfully exploited in New York City.[11]

He thus took his stand against bossism and corruption. His solution was to institute mechanical changes in the machinery of government and in the machinery of elections. But he showed little interest in changing the body politic except for a vaguely expressed feeling of bringing "public sentiment up to the same level."[12] Social reforms like slum clearance, old age assistance, and workmen's compensation were for him but special benefits to which attention could be given only after local partisanship had been dissipated and city governments had been reorganized along lines of concentrated authority and responsibility. They were not immediate goals in themselves.

In disregarding these welfare benefits, however, Low slighted what the Tammany political machine had rested on as one of its stoutest pillars. This slight helps explain his rather puny success in limiting Tammany's power and winning the allegiance of its members. This semi-political, semi-social organization acted as a remarkably efficient welfare agency for thousands of New York immigrants. They cared little about graft or the compulsion to vote the party ticket so long as the district captains got them

[11] Typical of Low's remarks are the following excerpts: "It is not simply that the 'spoils system,' which has been so demoralizing a force throughout the country, has produced the worst results in the cities; it is that we have really lost the substance of popular government."—"Historical Society Address," *op. cit.*, 30. ". . . the principal business of a city government is administration, not legislation."—"Historical Society Address," *op. cit.*, 13. "A city is not so much a little state as it is a great corporation."—"Johns Hopkins Address," *op. cit.*, 6. "The spirit of local independence in voting is the spirit which ultimately will secure good government for the American cities."—"An American View," *op. cit.* (1917 ed.), I, 670.

[12] "Johns Hopkins Address," *op. cit.*, 3.

wood on cold nights, medicine for the sick, and jobs for the unemployed.[13] It was not that Low denied the existence of these social needs. It was simply that he never appreciated how skillfully Tammany met them and how sterile were his own mechanistic solutions. But this was a difference in perspective which would only begin to become clear once he took office.

Meanwhile, a call from his fellow trustees at Columbia turned him temporarily away from municipal reform. As president, Low threw himself into the task of uniting the College with a loose association of graduate schools, to form when finished, in the words of the trustees, "a great university . . . that invites expansion"—an achievement, they felt, that had "no parallel in the educational history of any country or of any age." From his share from the liquidation of A.A. Low & Sons in 1888, Low contributed $1,500,000 to Columbia to build a library in his father's name on Morningside Heights.[14]

His labors with the University did not cut him off from his reform associates. In 1894 he declined the invitation of a citizens' Committee of Seventy to run for mayor against Tammany Hall.[15] During 1896 and 1897 he served on the State-created, 15-man commission which drew up the first charter for Greater New York City. This charter, providing for the consolidation into one municipality of three and a half counties, hundreds of small towns, three large cities and over three million people,[16] Low believed to be deficient. He took to the press to publicize his dissatisfaction with it.[17] The warnings he then issued proved to have

[13] For a detailed discussion of Tammany of this period, see Albert Fein, "New York City Politics from 1899–1903" (Columbia University Master's Essay, 1954); also, Walter Hawley, "The Strengths and Weaknesses of Tammany Hall," *North American Review*, CLXXIII (October 1901).

[14] *Minutes Adopted by the Trustees of Columbia College in the City of New York and by the University Council on the Resignation of Seth Low, LL.D., as President* [October 7, 1901] (New York: 1901); James Russell, "Seth Low," *Columbia University Quarterly*, XIX (1916), 1–6.

[15] *Tribune*, June 8, 1897.

[16] *Tribune*, June 9, 1896.

[17] In a letter to the *New York Evening Post*, February 4, 1897, which was reprinted in other city newspapers, Low objected to the establishment of a bicameral municipal assembly, the creation of a four-man, bipartisan police board which would manage the Board of Elections, and the limitation on the mayor's power of removal.

been prophetic during the first two years of the Greater City, with the result that his recommendations were incorporated into the revised Charter of 1900, under which he served as Mayor. In effect, the new charter would give him power over the Greater City not held by another "chief magistrate of any city in the world—certainly none chosen by popular suffrage,"[18] and would substantially meet the corporate requirements he had so painstakingly detailed for twenty years.[19] Here was the institution of those mechanical changes in municipal government he had long desired. The one annoying deficiency of the new charter would prove to be the provision (included at the insistence of Senator Thomas Collier Platt, Republican Party boss in New York State), reducing the mayor's term from four to two years. This provision would seriously impinge on Low's time to rid the administration of Tammany's partisan influence and to implement his own ideas.[20]

II

It had been a political maxim in New York City for a quarter century that only a combination of Republicans, independent Democrats, and dissatisfied Tammany regulars could break the machine's hold on the city administration. This anti-Tammany movement began in 1871 with the first Citizens' Committee of Seventy, which organized on a nonpartisan basis in reaction to the corruption of boss William Tweed. Its successor was the Second Committee of Seventy in 1894,[21] whose nominating offer

[18] Edward M. Shepard, "The Second Mayoralty Election in Greater New York," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXIX (February 1902), 193.

[19] For a discussion of charter reform, see Frederick Shaw, *The History of the New York City Legislature* (New York: 1954), 8; George Rives, "The Mayor and the Revised New York City Charter," *North American Review*, CLXXIII (October 1901), 456.

[20] *The Nation*, LXXII (April 4, 1901), 267. It was generally accepted as fact that Platt had arranged this reduction. He realized that only a fusion of anti-Tammany organizations with a nonpartisan candidate for mayor could defeat the Democratic machine. If this happened in 1901, as he suspected it would, then the boss wanted to minimize this candidate's term of office to facilitate his own opportunities for patronage in the future.—Harold Gosnell, "Thomas C. Platt—Political Manager," *Political Science Quarterly*, XXXVIII (September 1923), 443–69.

[21] The story of the anti-Tammany movements in New York City in Low's time

Low declined while president of Columbia. From this committee and various reform and improvement clubs and associations the Citizens Union was formed in February 1897, seven and a half months before the first elections for the Greater City.[22]

Among the Union's 165 founders were financier J. Pierpont Morgan, lawyer and later Secretary of State Elihu Root, and social worker and critic Jacob Riis.[23] Most, like Low, were Republicans in national politics. But through a program of home rule and local nonpartisanship they believed municipal politics could be purified and cities better governed. They imagined these two programs would create a kind of direct democracy where a party boss would be unable to contaminate the lines of responsibility and authority between citizen and elected official. In a spirit of conservative reformism, they shied away from any suggestion of broad social or economic changes which might alter the existing order or smack of radicalism. Their object was to arouse sentiments of responsibility, indignation, and guilt within each municipal resident. "After all," Low once told a Johns Hopkins audience, "the main hope lies in the public spirit of the people themselves. . . . Let them feel that vital consequences to the city are at stake . . . , and the citizens will become influential. . . ."[24]

Accordingly, the Citizens Union began a campaign to awaken New Yorkers to the evils of Tammany and the good of non-

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is the story of committees. There were committees of Eighteen, Seventy, Seventy-Two, One Hundred, and One Hundred Seven, to name some of the more prominent. Their purposes changed but their membership included largely the same names.—E. P. Wheeler Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

[22] Gustavus Myers, *The History of Tammany Hall* (New York: 1901), 240, 270–71; *Tribune*, supplement, October 26, 1897; *Citizens Union Campaign Book* (New York: 1897), 6–8. Typical of the reform and anti-Tammany organizations was the City Club, which was established in 1892 as a social club and a center of civic activity. It published the records of candidates for public office, made complaints against municipal officials, and suggested legislation to the State legislature in Albany.

[23] Root drew up the original "Declaration of Principles and Objectives" of the Citizens Union, after discussions with the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst and former Mayor Abram S. Hewitt, among others.—Philip Jessup, *Elihu Root* (New York: 1938), I, 192–93; *Tribune*, February 22, 24, 1897; *Who's Who in New York City and State* (New York: 1904); *Club Men of New York* (New York: 1903).

[24] Seth Low, "Addresses and Papers on Municipal Government" (1892?), Library of Congress.

partisanship. Pamphlets were published. Among these was a unique, 100-page combination handbook-platform distributed by the Union. It served as a bible for the exponents of good government and flattened the sails of anti-reformers who felt the earlier Committees of Seventy had criticized Tammany without offering an alternative program.[25] While Low lent his private support to this movement, he became withdrawn and hesitant when pressure mounted within the growing Union organization for his candidacy for mayor. On June 7th, a special subcommittee of R. Fulton Cutting, Carl Schurz, and Joseph Laroque asked him point-blank about his political intentions. Low dreaded their questions.[26] Not politically ambitious and ever anxious to avoid a mistake, he replied in the form of a request for "more evidence . . . of a popular desire" for his candidacy.[27] This request was met by September when some 102,000 petitioners plus 25,000 Union members supported him publicly.[28] Once again he found himself taking the political stage by default. Just as the Brooklyn Citizens Committee had pushed his candidacy in 1881, now a New York organization helped him back into the public spotlight.

For all their planning, the Union leaders reckoned without the Republicans who, in the words of Boss Platt, were "astonished and enraged" at the new organization's boldness. Edward Lauterbach, President of the Republican County Committee, considered "even a Tammany Hall Democrat" preferable to "a man of no party, whose administration is responsible to no party."[29] Theodore Roosevelt thought the Union was using "kindergarten methods" and decided Low was under the influence of the "ultra-wing" which dominated the organization.[30] By his own silence

[25] *Citizens Union Campaign Book* (New York: 1897); Stanwood DeAlva Alexander, *Four Famous New Yorkers* (New York: 1923), IV, 291–94.

[26] Theodore Roosevelt to Seth Low, June 29, 1897, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Elting E. Morrison, ed. (Cambridge: 1951).

[27] *Tribune*, June 8, 1897.

[28] Carey, *op. cit.*, 42; *Tribune*, August 17, September 1, 1897.

[29] *Tribune*, September 22, 1897; *Nation*, LXV (September 9, 1897), 198–99; Matthew P. Breen, *Thirty Years of New York Politics* (New York: 1899), 834.

[30] Roosevelt to Low, September 11, 1897; Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, *Roosevelt Letters*.

during this procedural wrangling Low gave his tacit approval to the go-it-alone policy of the Union.

The race turned into a three-cornered affair with Low opposing Republican-candidate Benjamin F. Tracy, a former Secretary of the Navy, now a law partner of Platt's son, and Judge Robert Van Wyck, Croker's nominee, hitherto politically insignificant and a silent candidate throughout the contest. Van Wyck polled 233,997, Low 151,540, and Tracy 101,863 votes. The native-American Republicans had voted almost exclusively for Low and, suprising to many observers, he had outpolled Tracy. The figures made crystal clear that Tammany could never be beaten when the Republicans and the independents were at odds. The hope for 1901 was that Van Wyck would put in "the same old gang" and produce a violent reaction against Tammany. Low quickly returned to his Columbia presidency.[31]

III

During the next three and a half years a remarkable change occurred in the political climate of the city. The 1897 enthusiasm for Tammany was replaced by a rising popular indignation against the machine's corrupting influence over the Administration. From the Mazett investigation to daily revelations of police bribery, with exposure piling on exposure, a desire was aroused among ordinary citizens, Republican leaders, and Democratic independents that there be created a fusion of anti-Tammany forces. Thus grew a unanimity of opinion in marked contrast to the diffuse and often contradictory states of mind in 1897, when voters were torn between traditional party loyalty and fascination with the principles of the Citizens Union.[32]

Then Low's reputation as a reformer, his success in Brooklyn, and his published analyses made him the ideal Union candidate.

[31] A fourth candidate was single-taxer Henry George, the nominee of the Bryan Democrats, whose significance in the campaign was that he died just before election day.—*Tribune*, October 4, 14, 23, 27, 29, November 3, 1897. Roosevelt to Lodge, November 4, 8, 1897, *Roosevelt Letters*.

[32] W. H. Baldwin, Jr., "Publicity as a Means of Social Reform," *North American*

By 1901, however, when the Union leaders better understood the advice offered in 1897 that "politics is not the counsel of perfection, but the art of the attainable," his limitations as a political candidate carried greater weight.[33] The members feared he would make a "weak," unaggressive candidate.[34] The professional politicians did not like his continued association with Theodore Roosevelt, the nation's most prominent Republican. After all, Low was supposed to be nonpartisan. Both groups agreed that his greatest handicap was his personality. They feared the very qualities his intimates liked might prove most annoying to the public: his personal fortune, stolid bearing, and conservative instincts. His austere, often humorless, sometimes stuffy appearance, combined with his restricted associations with reformers, intellectuals, and socially prominent albeit influential New Yorkers, offended many Democratic regulars whose support was vital for a Fusion ticket.[35]

He was "the bourgeois reformer type," wrote Lincoln Steffens. George B. McClellan, Jr., Low's social equal and 1903 mayoralty opponent, remembered him as "a dull, obstinate man with an excellent opinion of himself." Another observer recalled his "reputation of frigid austerity" while Mayor of Brooklyn. Low's nephew, Benjamin R. C. Low, tried to temper these comments. "What to some of his critics," he wrote, "appeared to be a tendency to lean over backwards, a trifle too much starch in the vertebrae, was in actuality only a healthy specimen of the New

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Review, CLXXIII (November 1901), 847–53; Milo Bogard, *The Redemption of New York* (New York: 1902); Fein, *op. cit.*, 9.

[33] William L. Ivins to Seth Low (undated letter), "Scrapbook History of the Campaign of 1897," Seth Low Papers (Columbiana Manuscript Collection, Columbia University). After that campaign Herman Ridder, editor of *Staats Zeitung*, noted the "gentlemen were not so successful in warming up the masses as was desired" and he urged the Citizens Union to find leadership "that better understands how to feel the pulse of the people and disarm its distrust of exclusive circles."—New York *Staats Zeitung* as quoted in *Tribune*, November 3, 1897.

[34] John P. Peters to Everett P. Wheeler, September 11, 1901, Citizens Union Collection, New York Public Library.

[35] The pro-Tammany, anti-Fusion *New York American* delighted in appealing to class distinctions with cartoons depicting Low dressed in high silk hat and black morning coat. The cartoons invariably linked him with wealthy New York financiers or prominent Republicans. See *New York American*, October 16, 23, 28, 1903.

England conscience."[36] What his admirers called dignity, his critics considered smugness; what a fellow businessman praised as self-reliance, an experienced politician ridiculed as lack of humility; what the reformers applauded as devotion to the city's welfare, the partisans scorned as disloyalty to the party.

Whatever the label, and there were many, he was no cinch for the Fusion nomination that year. The seventeen political and ethnic organizations which allied themselves with the Union in 1901 pushed either an independent Democrat or a favorite son. Agreement on anyone was so difficult at one point that the Citizens Union withdrew his name. His eventual nomination resulted from a process of elimination. As the *Tribune* commented, he was selected "not because he was a Republican, but in spite of it."[37] One by one the others had dropped out, either because they disqualified themselves or could not muster sufficient support. It was at this low point that a tight knot of his enthusiasts had their way.

Why they succeeded is explained, as well as anywhere, by a statement of Nicholas Murray Butler, soon to be Low's successor at Columbia, when he wrote that "to nominate him now is to score openly and publicly a great victory for his principles of our campaign of 1897." Butler concluded: "Mr. Low has not changed. . . . He is just as high-minded, just as capable, just as patriotic."[38] Other factors behind his nomination were these: he

[36] Lincoln Steffens, *Shame of the Cities* (New York: 1904), 286; Harold C. Syrett, ed., *The Gentleman and the Tiger: The Autobiography of George B. McClellan, Jr.* (New York: 1956), 171; Syrett, *City of Brooklyn*, 120; Benjamin R. C. Low, *op. cit.*, 82.

[37] *Nation*, LXXIII (September 26, 1901), 236; *Tribune*, September 1, 4, 17, 19, 1901; Fein, *op. cit.*, 32; Alexander, *op. cit.*, 360–63; G. B. Smith to Everett P. Wheeler, September 3, 1901, Citizens Union Collection, N.Y.P.L. (Wheeler was Secretary for the Fusion Nominating Committee in 1901 and served as a clearing house for opinion and information about the campaign.) Senator Platt's power over the Republicans had declined since 1897. He had been severely criticized for not cooperating with the Citizens Union then; and he was aging rapidly now. As a result, the Party was generally less adamant in its condemnation of nonpartisanship.—Harold Gosnell, *Boss Platt and His New York Machine* (Chicago: 1924), 294, 299; *Tribune*, September 21, 1901. For the comments of Edward M. Shepard on Low's nomination, see Shepard to Everett P. Wheeler, February 6, 1902, E. P. Wheeler Collection, N.Y.P.L.

[38] Nicholas Murray Butler to Everett P. Wheeler, September 12, 1901, Citizens Union Collection, N.Y.P.L.

was of German extraction in a city of 900,000 Germans; he had won two elections in Brooklyn and still had loyal followers in that Borough; and his refined approach to municipal matters commended him to the conservatives who wanted "no man of vagaries" as candidate.[39]

If Low worried about his nomination, he never showed it. During the rising emotionalism against Tammany, he took no part in the popular sport of vilifying the Van Wyck Administration and its complicity with vice and crime. During the political machinations of August and September he in no way pleaded his own cause. He preferred to remain aloof on Morningside Heights. This was a procedure he had adopted in Brooklyn, continued before the 1897 campaign, and would follow in 1903 when his Administration came under severe attack. Then and now he exhibited no inclination to direct the machinery which was so necessary to put and keep a reform ticket in office. He wanted his supporters to come to him rather than going to them. As he wrote in his formal letter of acceptance of the Fusion nomination, "you have *summoned* me. . . ."[40] He agreed with the program of home rule and nonpartisanship. But he had no intention of endorsing the so-called "positive benefits," as the Citizens Union labelled its broader social appeal to the laboring classes, so gave these welfare clauses only passing mention in his statement. He was just as reticent about commenting on Sunday drinking laws and police corruption. "Neither of them ought to enter into a city campaign," he moralized.[41] But they did, and

[39] George R. Bishop to Everett P. Wheeler, September 13, 1901, Citizens Union Collection, N.Y.P.L.

[40] Italics mine; Seth Low, "Letter of Acceptance to Fusion Nomination," as quoted in Bogard, *op. cit.*, 35–40.

[41] Included in the "benefits" were more schools, better water supply, cleaner streets, new public baths, and more playgrounds.--John DeWitt Warner, "Municipal Betterment," *Municipal Affairs*, VI (October 1901), 3. In 1888 Low wrote of the conflict of ideals which focused on the liquor issue: "The Puritan sentiment, in its extreme phase, stands for prohibition. The Continental idea antagonizes this squarely, in its demand for the widest liberty." He observed then that the result of this conflict was "the tendency of elections to turn upon issues like the liquor question, rather than upon the general question of good administration."–Seth Low, "Johns Hopkins Address," *op. cit.*, 3. Low was always concerned more with the methodology of government than with its sociological aspects.

his handling of these two issues as mayor influenced the electorate more than any of the major contributions he would make to city government.

Boss Croker of Tammany exhibited none of the confidence of the Fusion ticket. Beset with factional defections within the Democratic organization and resentment among financial leaders who were normally heavy contributors to the Hall's campaign, the aging boss, his power waning, tore a leaf from the pamphlets of reform. He engineered the Democratic nomination of Edward M. Shepard, fresh from consideration as a Fusion candidate and fondly remembered as an outspoken Low backer in 1897.[42]

Shepard's incongruous position was never satisfactorily reconciled during the campaign. It was made the more ridiculous by loud, frequent, and stinging charges from William T. Jerome, Fusion nominee for District Attorney, that Shepard and the Hall were in league with gamblers and corrupt financiers. Jerome, in Shepard's own phrase, acted as "the hero, or Prince Rupert of the campaign."[43] You "would lose more votes in ten minutes in a big tenement than we [i.e., myself] could gain in a week," Jerome delighted in telling some Fusion socialities.[44] His personal dynamism and appeals to the less-sophisticated motivations of the electorate evoked an emotional response that Low, with all his 38 speeches and reasoned discussions of honesty, economy, and responsibility, never could. "I submit to the people of New York City," proclaimed Low, "that they have allowed a government to be built up here that gives to the poor and the weak and the timid almost none of the fundamental privileges of American citizens."[45] "Very competent, very dignified—and rather dull," he relied heavily and perforce on Jerome to bridge the communications-gap between the reformers and the mass of New Yorkers.[46]

The emotional peak reached by the campaign and the Fusion

[42] Fein, *op. cit.*, 27–30, 44–45; Lothrop Stoddard, *Master of Manhattan: The Life of Richard Croker* (New York: 1931), 210–12, 230–36.

[43] Shepard, *op. cit.*, 205.

[44] Alfred Hodder, *A Fight for the City* (New York: 1903), 59.

[45] *New York Times*, October 16, 1901.

[46] Hodder, *op. cit.*, 68; Stoddard, *op. cit.*, 248; the problem of communications is discussed in Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston: 1951), 217–19.

victory touched the editorial pages of the *Nation*. Its editors saw "honest men all through the city and throughout the country . . . thanking God and taking courage at the magnificent and inspiring results."[47] The Fusionists elected the Mayor, the President of the Board of Aldermen, three of the five Borough Presidents, all the county officers, and three of the four judges of the State Supreme Court.[48] Such observations as "political revolution" seemed justified at the time despite Low's relatively narrow 41,000 plurality. More sober commentators, however, noted the influence of an estimated 75,000 independent voters on the results and cautioned against "the probable temporary character of a success won by Fusion forces at the moment of hot indignation over glaring administrative evils."[49] An analysis of the returns showed that heavy newspaper support, vast quantities of printed literature in many languages, and a fortunate alliance against Tammany had made serious but by no means crippling inroads into Tammany districts.[50]

It was pointed out that, if Low was to be re-elected, he must swing voters who reacted against Tammany into voters who supported his and the Union's as-yet-untested formula for good government. It was a question of whether Low felt himself responsible to the reformers who pushed his nomination or to the masses who voted for him. The burden of proof lay ultimately on his shoulders, for under the new charter and by the nature of the election, he and not a political party was responsible for the Administration. Not as a businessman, Brooklyn mayor, or college president had he been under such an obligation or faced such a challenge.

[47] *Nation*, LXXIII (November 7, 1901), 349.

[48] For official tabulation of vote, see *New York City Record*, XXX, No. 8714, supplement for January 4, 1902. Of the total vote of 579,301, the returns were: Low, 296,813, Shepard, 265,177; the remaining 17,301 votes were divided between Benjamin Hanford, an Independent nominee for mayor, and Prohibition candidate Manierre.

[49] *Nation*, LXXV (November 13, 1902), 374; *Tribune*, November 7, 1901.

[50] "The feverish and fitful efforts of the reformers can never score more than a temporary success against Tammany discipline and perfect cohesion."—Sydney Brooks, "Tammany Again," *Monthly Review*, V (October 1901), 104; "Report to the Executive Committee of the Citizens Union by the Chairman of the Committee on Press and Literature" (November 7, 1901), Citizens Union Collection, N.Y.P.L.

IV

Seth Low spent the two months between his election and his inauguration on January 1, 1902, in consultation with New York Republicans, Senator Platt, Governor Odell, and President Roosevelt, with Fusionists and reformers, among them R. Fulton Cutting, and with the presidents and chief officers of reform clubs. All of them added to his mounting lists of possible appointees. Of the 31 ranking offices filled by inauguration day, fifteen went to Republicans, eleven to Democrats, and five to members of the Citizens Union.[51] Platt, who once thought a nonpartisan mayor would be a "constant thorn in the flesh of the Republican organization," remembered that "Low made comparatively few promises, but I must do him the justice to say that he did his best to make these few good."[52] The *Times* grew less pleased, for a year and a half later it listed thirty-six important city posts as filled by Republican Party leaders and questioned whether Low was as nonpartisan as he claimed.[53] Among these appointees were the Dock, Fire, Park and Charities Commissioners. The most controversial was Colonel John N. Partridge, Low's Police Commissioner in Brooklyn twenty years before. His effectiveness had diminished with age and he retired under pressure after failing to clean up the Police Department.

Of the Democrats, George L. Rives as Corporation Counsel won plaudits from both political camps. Low maintained similar standards in the appointments of E. J. Lederle, a trained chemist, as Health Commissioner, and Gustav Lindenthal, a German Fusion-supporter, as Bridge Commissioner. Republican Robert W. DeForest became Housing Commissioner in preference to Lawrence Veiller, both recognized housing authorities, because as Veiller recalled, Low "felt I was too radical a person and might get his administration into trouble." While commentators noted

[51] *Tribune*, December 2, 20, 24, 1901; January 1, 1902; *Nation*, LXXIV (January 2, 1902), 5–6.

[52] Thomas C. Platt, *The Autobiography of Thomas Collier Platt* (New York: 1910), 415; Harold Gosnell, *Boss Platt*, 294.

[53] *New York Times*, August 4, 1903; *Nation*, LXXIII (November 21, 1901), 388.

the preponderance of specialists in the new administration and feared it might "lose touch with the masses,"[54] Low defended their presence as a necessity in getting the machinery of government in smooth running order after four years of Tammany mismanagement.[55]

This task was complicated by the thousands of Tammany sinecures who kept out accredited civil service personnel. At Low's request department heads with a "broad stroke" reduced their working force to the level of December 1897, when Tammany began padding payrolls. Many of Low's supporters only confused matters with loud demands for jobs. Even the City Committee of the Citizens Union complained about the Mayor's distribution of patronage to district leaders.[56] James E. Reynolds, Low's private secretary and a Union founder, replied that it would be impossible, "if Low desired to do so, to reward one fourth of those who rendered good service during the campaign."[57] The root of the confusion lay in the revised charter which gave the Borough Presidents and not the Mayor responsibility for hiring personnel for public works.[58] An additional factor was the "inextricable confusion" of the Civil Service laws.[59] Low was able to report basic reforms in these laws only after two years of guiding legislation through the State legislature and despite frequent criticism from the Citizens Union and the Civil Service Reform Association.[60] He was ever mindful

[54] Lawrence Veiller, "Reminiscences," Columbia Oral History Project (Columbia University), 39; *Nation*, LXXIV (January 2, 1902), 5–6.

[55] Mayor Van Wyck justly deserved much of the blame he received for poorly managing the city's government. It should be remembered, however, that his job was a difficult one: the solidifying of formerly independent communities into a single municipality in the face of a poor charter and Tammany interference.

[56] *Tribune*, January 7, 1902.

[57] James B. Reynolds to the President of the West Side Colored Republican Club, January 29, 1902, Seth Low General Letters, Official Correspondence as Mayor (New York Mayors' Papers, City Archives), 190; henceforth referred to as *General Letters*.

[58] Rives, *op. cit.*, 458.

[59] Seth Low to Cuthbert W. Dound, Chairman of the State Civil Service Commission, March 12, 1902, *General Letters*, 192.

[60] *Tribune*, February 13, March 14, 23, April 30, May 28, December 13, 1902; *Municipal Civil Service Commission of the City of New York, 1903 Report to the State Civil Service Commission*, 4–5.

of the political consequences of these efforts. "If . . . the legislature fails to pass these bills," he wrote the Albany lawmakers, ". . . politically, I am confident no greater blunder could be made; for the people of the City naturally hold the Republicans responsible for this result."[61]

While in fact the Administration took two years to filter nonpartisanship through the Civil Service examinations down to the bulk of city employees, Low immediately set his own severe standards. Before taking office he liquidated a million dollars' worth of gilt-edge securities to give himself complete freedom in depositing the City's funds. By his first administrative act, announcing that he would do no marrying as Mayor, he set himself up as a businessman in office, although he divested himself of one of the most colorful and popular functions of the job. He also announced his refusal to endorse any applicant for a municipal position.[62] During his first five months in office, when he was "so much pressed by embarrassment resulting from the disorderly conditions of the machinery of government,"[63] Low accepted only two invitations to public functions outside his prescribed duties as Mayor. He studiously avoided political meetings in the city, even declining invitations from his close friend Carl Schurz, one of his staunchest German followers.[64] Briefly, during the spring of 1903, Low permitted himself "miles of dinners,"[65] but with the approaching fall campaign he again tried to disassociate himself from any political affair.[66]

The Mayor applied similar standards to his subordinates. He lengthened by an hour the working day of municipal employees.

[61] Seth Low to the Hon. S. Frederick Nixon, March 12, 1902, Seth Low Personal Letters as Mayor of New York (Columbiana Manuscript Collection, Columbia University); henceforth referred to as *Personal Letters*.

[62] *Tribune*, January 1, 2, 1902; two letters from Reynolds, January 15, 18, 1902, *General Letters*, 190.

[63] Reynolds in reply to personal acquaintance, February 12, 1902, *General Letters*, 191.

[64] Seth Low to Carl Schurz, September 4, 1902, *Personal Letters*.

[65] *New York Mail Express*, March 13, 1903.

[66] Seth Low to Charles H. Treat, Chairman of the Republican Club of New York City, September 21, 1903, *Personal Letters*. The frequency of Low's correspondence with City and State Republicans suggests an inability on his part to suppress his strong allegiance to the Party.

He inaugurated weekly meetings of his department heads, the object being to forestall any inter-departmental friction and give the Administration greater cohesion. On February 28th he opened to the press all meetings and hearings of municipal boards.[67] This publicity subjected the Administration to severe and often premature criticism—criticism, the *Tribune* found later, which only served "to lodge in the mind of the thoughtless one more impression that the reform administration . . . [is] unsatisfactory."[68] From Low's standpoint, the fault-finding spurred his lieutenants to greater efficiency, and this was reward enough. He was especially pleased that bidders on City contracts no longer needed the "inside information" of Tammany days.[69]

By inclination and temperament Low was best suited to the behind-the-scenes intricacies of government, the kind of work which rarely produced screaming headlines for the afternoon newspapers. He had little taste for meeting the public, and yet recognized the value of keeping New Yorkers abreast of, and stimulated by, his plans. "In a single word," he once told a Harvard Phi Beta Kappa audience, ". . . the problem of good government . . . is largely a problem of education."[70] Accordingly, he delivered during August and September 1902 a series of nine weekly talks ranging from schools to taxes to graft. The *Nation* kindly dubbed them "more than mere academic discussions."[71] They supplemented four addresses to the Board of Aldermen on city issues and his press releases about vetoed legislation.[72]

This kind of public relations, however, lacked the spontaneity,

[67] *Tribune*, January 4, March 1, 1902; Seth Low to department heads, January 15, 1902, Seth Low Departmental Letters, Official Correspondence as Mayor (New York Mayors' Papers, City Archives); henceforth referred to as *Departmental Letters*.

[68] *Tribune*, December 13, 1902.

[69] Metropolitan Printing Company to the Board of the City Record, January 11, 1902, Seth Low Official Correspondence Received (New York Mayors' File 1902–1903, City Archives).

[70] Seth Low, "The Trend of the Century," an address to the Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa, June 30, 1898 (New York: 1898), 29.

[71] *Nation*, LXXV (September 4, 1902), 181.

[72] The weekly talks were reported in the *Tribune* for July 18, 25, August 1, September 12, 19, 26, and October 3, 11, 1903. The addresses to the Aldermen were reported in the *Tribune* for January 7, March 5, 1902, and January 6, February 18, 1903.

informality, and intimacy to which Tammany mayors had accustomed the people. Van Wyck, for instance, had regularly held court in his office and was always available to party members, office seekers, and the curious. Labor leaders now sensed an above-it-all attitude in Low. As one grumbled, "you could see the Tammany Mayor if you had any complaints to make. Now you can get no nearer the Mayor than his secretary."[73] A year later an influential reformer noted this same seclusion. The Mayor "places himself on an altitude far removed from [the people]. . . . He is distant from them, does not and cannot understand their life and their real, personal civic aspirations."[74] This sort of comment was as much a symptom of a general misunderstanding of his *modus operandi* and an annoyance with him personally as it was evidence of his inability to put over to the public the why and the what of his Administration.

His relations with the Board of Aldermen were no less trying. An administrative bottleneck and center for Tammany corruption under Van Wyck, the 73-man Board proved equally objectionable during 1902 and 1903, despite its nominal three-man Fusion majority.[75] Rumors of blackmail were frequent.[76] On inconsequential grounds or to please a special interest the Board held up pressing legislation which often already had the approval of the State legislature, the Mayor, and the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, the governing fiscal body of the Corporation. Relations became more strained in the spring of 1903 when the Alderman fell under the control of the Democrats, who in turn took their orders from Tammany's new boss, Charles F. Murphy, successor to Croker in September 1902.[77]

[73] *Tribune*, May 26, 1902.

[74] Letter signed Civicus to the *New York Herald*, April 12, 1903. The newspaper described the writer as "a man who took a conspicuous part in the reform movement" of 1901 and whose views represented those of other influential reformers who participated in drafting the letter."

[75] These three, who were regular Democrats, had joined the Fusion ticket in 1901 for election purposes. They felt their chances for re-election in 1903 would improve if they returned to the Party, which they did that year.

[76] *Tribune*, January 16, October 7, December 9, 1902; July 21, September 25, 1903.

[77] *Tribune*, May 20, June 2, 1903; Harold Zink, *City Bosses in the United States* (Durham: 1930), 151–52.

On taking office Low vetoed all the Aldermen's lame-duck legislation. Thereafter he was obligated almost daily to return, unsigned, ordinances violating the Charter, which the members only slightly understood, or endangering construction projects that members coveted for their own districts.[78] To skirt their stubbornness and centralize administrative responsibility, he maneuvered two bills through Albany: one deprived the Aldermen of special authority over city planning, giving this to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment; the other, abolishing the Aldermen's quasi-control over the city's underground transportation system, placed this authority entirely in the Rapid Transit Commission.[79]

With the backing of a Republican governor and Republican majority in the State legislature, Low initiated something of a new era in City-State relations, which hitherto had been haphazard and to the City's disadvantage.[80] During 1902 no bill disapproved of by the Mayor was passed; the *Tribune* could recall no previous example of such harmony. The same relationship continued in 1903.[81] But this happy result was achieved and maintained only with great vigilance by Low. He "vetoed" hundreds of bills which impinged on home rule—"an affront to the City," he described them.[82] Equally objectionable to the Mayor were those private citizens who "go to the legislature at Albany to obtain what they desire and have not lifted a finger to obtain local action by local authorities."[83] He returned all so-called mandatory acts which might force New York City to spend money it did not possess. He was less successful in his

[78] Low to Board of Aldermen, January 6, 1902, Seth Low Board of Aldermen and Legislative Bills (New York Mayors' Papers, City Archives), I; henceforth referred to as *Official Legislation*. For typical examples of vetoed legislation, see aldermanic veto messages of May 19, June 24, 1902, *Official Legislation*, I; April 20, May 26, 1903, *Official Legislation*, II.

[79] Low, aldermanic veto message, May 1, 1903, *Official Legislation*, II; *Tribune*, January 6, 1903.

[80] Seth Low, "Historical Society Address," *op. cit.*, 11–16.

[81] *Tribune*, January 1, February 1, April 21, 1902; *New York Times*, March 22, 1903.

[82] Low, State legislative veto message, April 30, 1903, *Official Legislation*, II.

[83] *Ibid.*, March 23, 1903.

running battle to keep the new charter uncluttered with amendments; a total of 57 special acts amending this document were passed over his objections.[84]

Low served the City well in his civil service reforms, appointments, and dealings with the two legislative bodies. He was equally adept in putting the new charter into operation. But his greatest contributions came in the fields of finance and transportation. Here he strikingly contradicted his own observation, made after his term ended, when he wrote: ". . . the improvement of cities seems everywhere to have been made by tearing down and replacing at great cost, rather than by far-sighted provision for the demands and opportunities of the future."[85]

He prepared himself with an extensive study of city affairs, of which eight months were devoted to monetary problems.[86] He drew on his commercial background with A. A. Low & Sons, and showed the same vision and forethought as when he was President of Columbia. The plans he used had been suggested by others,[87] but as in many of his undertakings, his particular skill lay in giving new life to old, often-dormant ideas. The upshot was a more solid foundation for the future growth of New York City. A broad reassessment of the city's real estate led to an expansion of New York's borrowing capacity to $142,000,000, a more equitable distribution of taxes, and a reduction by $5,000,000 in the annual increase of the permanent funded debt. During his two years the total City budget dropped $1,500,000. With new latitude for growth, Low by 1903 had committed $74,000,000 to improvements in schools, parks, and municipal buildings. In education, for example, the appropriations nearly doubled those under Mayor Van Wyck.[88] If Low left much still undone, the

[84] *Report of the Charter Revision Commission of 1907 to the Governor of the State of New York* (November 30, 1907), 101–4.

[85] Seth Low, "An American View," *op. cit.* (1910 ed.), 660.

[86] Lincoln Steffens, *op. cit.*, 285. Steffens wrote that Low was admitted to be "the master in detail of every department" which had engaged his attention.

[87] Bird Coler, *Municipal Government as Illustrated by the Charter, Finances and Public Charities of New York* (New York: 1900); Edward Grout, "The Finances of Greater New York," *Municipal Affairs*, V (December 1901). Grout, a Democrat, had been elected as the Fusion candidate for Comptroller.

[88] *Tribune*, January 6, October 10, 1903; *New York Times*, January 6, 1903, March

reason was not so much a lack of desire as a cautious approach on his part, the handicap of a city just beginning to unite, and his short term.

For years he had complained about the sloppy writing and politically inspired execution of New York's franchise laws.[89] The expanding community's rights to services like gas, electricity, ferry boats, street cleaning, and public transportation had been entrusted over the years to private interests often without any time limit or compensation to the City.[90] Under Low no contract between the City and a private company was signed which did not provide for regular income and renegotiation.[91] Only in the case of a perpetual contract with the Pennsylvania Railroad, which nevertheless for the first time provided for rate readjustment at regular intervals, did the Mayor compromise his opposition to perpetual grants. His object in this and other grants of transportation franchises was the creation of a single system with a single fare to unite the five boroughs. In turn, he wanted to link New York with the nation by tunnels under the Hudson River and more bridges over the East River. These contracts laid the basis for doubling the city's transportation network within five years.[92] His vision was to check overcrowding in Manhattan, develop unused city land elsewhere, and raise its tax value.[93]

Corruption-conscious and often over-zealous reformers criti-

29, 1903; *Citizens Union Campaign Book* (1903 ed.), 27–33; Low, aldermanic address, March 4, 1902, *Official Legislation*, I; Low to Ludwig Nissen, October 27, 1902, *Personal Letters*.

[89] This theme runs through all his addresses and articles on city government.

[90] Max West, "The Franchises of Greater New York," *Yale Review*, VI (February 1898), 390; R. R. Bowker, "Piracy of Public Franchises," *Atlantic Monthly* (October 1901) as reprinted in *Municipal Affairs*, V (December 1901), 886–904.

[91] *Tribune*, July 25, October 10, 1903.

[92] Low, aldermanic message, March 4 and December 9, 1902, *Official Legislation*, I, II. "The successful negotiations of the contracts for all these enterprises, involving as it did the determination of just and adequate compensation for the public franchises granted, and the necessary measure of reserved public control to meet future conditions, constituted perhaps the most important acts of Mayor Low's administration."—*Joint Session in Memory of Seth Low, Monday, September 25, 1916, Minutes of the Special Joint Session of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment and the Board of Aldermen* (New York: 1916).

[93] *Tribune*, January 6, February 3, August 1, 1903; *Citizens Union Campaign Book* (1903 ed.), 17–23.

cized these unifying schemes as monopoly in disguise. When, for example, Low sought to grant a second subway contract to the Interborough Railway Company, owned by financier August Belmont, the reformers were joined by Tammany contractors in charging the Mayor with misusing his contractual authority.[94] They misunderstood his judgment that a well-regulated single system would provide better, cheaper service than a hodge-podge of companies whose operations would be all but unmanageable.[95]

These critics were equally shortsighted about the investigations of District Attorney Jerome. His job was to break up illegal government-business relations in the city. Jacob Riis found Jerome "out in the open" and was willing to stake his support of the Administration on Jerome's record.[96] While this "Prince Rupert" of the 1901 campaign caused the dismissal of dock workers and charged labor leaders with extortion, in fact he never seriously attempted to expose the alliance between wealthy corporate interests and Tammany Hall, for whom the dockers and laborers were only foils during the Van Wyck Administration.[97] The explanation for this failure seems twofold. Firstly, Jerome, a Democrat, sensed a strong Democratic tide running in 1903 and, politically ambitious himself, was wary of alienating Tammany sachems.[98] Secondly, Low and his subordinates were too pressed by the daily demands of City business to wage a concerted drive against extra-governmental Tammany alliances.

Unquestionably the most pressing demands were the liquor and police issues. Both provoked controversy with the public through the two years and ironically belied Low's 1901 campaign comment that "neither of them ought to enter into a city

[94] For an analysis of public thinking about monopoly and trusts, see Hofstadter, *op. cit.*, 196–212; *New York Herald*, April 12, 1903.

[95] *Tribune*, April 15, May 8, 22, 1903.

[96] Jacob Riis, "Has Reform Made Good?" *The Outlook*, LXXV (September 5, 1903).

[97] *Tribune*, April 24, 25, August 9, 1902; February 25, April 4, 1903; Myers, *op. cit.* (1917 ed.), 312, 320–21.

[98] Fein, *op. cit.*, 108. Fein observes: "Despite the fact that Jerome never attained any other elective office, it seems reasonable to suppose that in 1903 he was casting his political future with the regular Democratic machine."

campaign." Under the State's so-called Raines Law, passed in 1896, the sale of liquor on Sunday in New York was prohibited except in saloons (or quasi-hotels) with ten furnished rooms or more. To skirt this restriction and satisfy a population which by nature would drink that day, New York City's 12,000 saloons, powerful social institutions in their own right, added extra rooms which were soon used for gambling and prostitution.[99] Under the Tammany Mayor the Police Department, appeased by bribes, ignored this illegality and grew fat with graft. Low took office with the pledge that "the whole force of the administration . . . [would] be exerted continuously, aggressively and in every possible way to prevent and to punish this sort of iniquity."[100] But in May the *Nation* published an article entitled "The Police Failure." By fall Low had appointed a three-man commission to investigate the Police Department. And on December 13th Commissioner Partridge bowed to the Mayor's request and, pleading ill health, submitted his resignation. This had long been demanded by the City Club and reform associations.[101] With Low's appointment of General Francis V. Greene, a retired regular army officer and former president of the Republican County Committee, the department pursued the "heroic policy" called for by R. Fulton Cutting before Partridge left.[102] Discipline returned to the force, the bribery system was largely abolished, and the red light districts lost their glow. In the process the Administration had felt the stress of internal quarrels. It was a distressing experience for a mayor who disliked any semblance of linen-washing in public.[103]

[99] John Agar, "The Saloon Problem in New York," *Municipal Affairs*, V (December 1901), 829–41; John DeWitt Warner, "The Raines Liquor Tax Law—State Promotion of Vice," *ibid.*, 842.

[100] *Tribune*, January 4, 1903.

[101] *Nation*, LXXIV (May 29, 1902), 421; *Tribune*, April 23, July 11, August 8, September 18, December 13, 21, 1902.

[102] *Tribune*, December 13, 21, 1902.

[103] Relating Greene's appointment to the 1903 City election, the *Evening Post* (December 23, 1902) observed that on "his success or failure hangs, to a large degree, the fate of Mayor Low's administration." Within less than two months the *World* (February 18, 1903) reported that Greene had "increased by 100 percent his now very faint chances of re-election in the fall."

When the police force was weak, Low adopted the policy of lenient enforcement of the Sunday drinking laws as a temporary expedient. This pleased the public but aroused the reformers. The reverse reaction occurred in 1903 when the Mayor relied on the disciplinarian Greene rather than lax enforcement to stop bribery. Now the thousands of Sunday drinkers, who had taken the Mayor at his word that "the extreme of the law is the extreme of injustice," felt betrayed ("Mayor Low has broken his word, cried the Germans"), while the reformers—ever anxious to observe the letter of the law, rejoiced.[104] The upstate lawmakers showed no sympathy with his compromise-request for local option; it was a rare instance when the Mayor did not have his way.[105]

His attempts to improve the city's living conditions received far less publicity than the liquor and police conflicts, but brought his subordinates just as intimately and forcefully into the lives of New Yorkers. Involved once again was the old question of just how strictly should laws be enforced in the face of major public opposition. Tammany preferred to ignore or circumvent them rather than antagonize its followers. The reformers in the Administration, on the other hand, felt that no streetwalker, beggar or ragman should evade them. How ironical this was in view of Jerome's unwillingness to prosecute the higher-ups of the illegal Tammany alliances with business during Van Wyck's term.

The newly created Tenement House Department under Commissioner DeForest, with 2,373,000 people crowded into 82,600 tenements, imposed rigid construction standards on new building and aided the police in limiting prostitution. But owners objected to "any interference with . . . their property rights" and builders and loan operators feared for their profit margins. Their defiance of the department's codes crimped the program to

[104] *Tribune*, January 6, 28, April 7, 8, 21, December 13, 20, 1902. Low did not win many friends among the social drinkers when in March 1903 he pressed charges—never proved true or false—that the Liquor Dealers Association, the representative of the city's saloon keepers, was assessing its members $5.00 apiece to create a city-wide fund to pay for police protection.—*Tribune*, March 20–25, 1903.

[105] Alexander, *op. cit.*, 392–93.

eradicate disease and accidents while winning the Administration few followers among the tenement set.[106]

The Department of Health doubled the number of smallpox vaccinations while incurring the wrath of hundreds who were chased to their roof tops and forced to be "scratched" (innoculated).[107] The Bureau of License caught up with 6,000 peddlers who had paid graft under Tammany to escape registration. The Department of Law collected two and a half times the amount of back taxes Van Wyck's men had returned. The Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity used similar diligence to raise by nearly one million dollars the City's income from water rates. The touch of reform was felt finally in the construction of eight new parks in East Side tenement districts, the partial completion of twelve new public baths, and the beginnings of a program to double the seating capacity of the City's schools.[108]

The reaction of the great, generally inarticulate majority to reform of this variety would have to wait until the coming election. Response came more swiftly and surely from the articulate but less personally affected minority. It saw a government by law instead of personal whim, conducted in the general interest rather than for private profit, the object of which was long-term city improvement and not political advantage. A British journalist wrote home that, taken as a whole, the Low Administration "must be pronounced the best government that New York or any other American city has ever known." The New York *World* judged that Low had "come nearer to fulfilling the pledges upon which he was elected than any Mayor the city has had in fifty years." The Citizens Union pulled out all its stops in labeling it "the best administration New York City has ever had."[109]

[106] "Tenement Reform in New York Since 1901," in Robert W. DeForest and Lawrence Veiller, eds., *The Tenement House Problem* (New York: 1903), I, xvi-xxvi.

[107] *Citizens Union Campaign Book* (1903 ed.), 63–65; *Tribune*, April 28, 1903.

[108] *Tribune*, May 27, 28, October 9, 1902; January 1, 1903; *Citizens Union Campaign Book* (1903 ed.), 51, 59; "Tenement Reform," *op. cit.*, xxi.

[109] Sydney Brooks, "Tammany Again," *The Fortnightly Review*, LXXIV (December 1903), 917; *New York World* as quoted in *Outlook*, 75 (October 3, 1903), 247; the slogan of the *Citizens Union Campaign Book* (1903 ed.).

V

These superlatives substantially represented the rallying cry under which Low and the Fusion ticket went down to defeat in 1903. Political maneuvers as well as public reaction help explain why a mayoralty which justly deserved such accolades and whose election was once hailed as a "political revolution" was turned out.

To begin with, Charles F. Murphy now ran Tammany Hall.[110] Trolley driver, saloon keeper, district political leader, and by September 1903 the most influential Democrat in the city, Murphy returned wayward lieutenants to the fold, acquired the editorial support of William Randolph Hearst's newspapers, and alternately cajoled and pressed such 1901 Fusion supporters as the Greater New York Democracy back to his side.[111] His tightening command lines and stimulation of machine activities made Tammany far stronger in 1903 than two years earlier. For his Democratic mayoralty candidate he personally chose Congressman George B. McClellan, Jr., son of the Civil War general of that name, a Princeton graduate, a New York clubman, an intellectual, and a loyal party member.[112] Murphy then beat down the opposition of boss Hugh McLaughlin of Brooklyn in the city Democratic convention and took charge of that Borough. In an astute political switch which seriously complicated Fusion plans he also effected the nomination of Democrats Edward M. Grout and Charles V. Fornes, Low's Comptroller and President of the Board of Aldermen, respectively. The new boss sounded the party call: nonpartisanship must go; Tammany has never lost

[110] Fein, *op. cit.*, 99–105; chapter on Murphy in Zink, *op. cit.*

[111] The Citizens Union was never blind to the opportunism of the Greater New York Democracy. Everett P. Wheeler wrote to C. D. Wood, October 12, 1901 (Citizens Union Collection, N.Y.P.L.): "I do not believe that there is any real basis for confidence that the enrollment of the Greater New York Democracy is at all substantial or to be relied upon. . . ."

[112] McClellan recalled that he accepted "very regretfully" Murphy's "personal appeal" to run. But he did so because "I have always been an organization man and have always believed in political organization." His faith in local party machinery was in direct contrast to the attitude of Low.—*McClellan Autobiography*, 169, 181.

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, JR.

From campaign poster, 1903 (NYHS)

CHARLES F. MURPHY

Review of Reviews, 1903, p. 658

two consecutive elections in New York City; the Party has won the 1902 State elections; and the 1904 national elections are only a year away.[113]

The defection of the Greater New York Democracy and the Fornes-Grout split-nomination between Tammany and Fusion suggested weakness in the Low camp. The Fusionists lost the ever-popular Jacob Cantor, Borough President of Manhattan, who decided not to seek a second term. Herman Ridder used his *Staats Zeitung* to criticize Low for breaking faith with non-partisanship when he chaired a Republican State convention in 1902.[114] But Jerome dropped the bombshell. He released letters to the press which showed that Thomas A. Fulton, secretary of the Citizens Union, had encouraged the volatile District Attorney in a public fight against Low's renomination. The Union immediately forced Fulton's resignation,[115] but the organization

[113] *Tribune*, September 28, October 4–8, 1903; *The Outlook*, 75 (October 10, 1903), 331.

[114] *New York Times*, August 30, September 18, 1903.

[115] *Tribune*, September 16, 17, 22–24, 1903. In a statement issued to the press on his resignation, Fulton said: "There is, I believe, not a newspaper in the city of New

felt betrayed, for the strength of Fusion depended upon its ability to quiet internal dissent and offer the public a unified anti-Tammany front.[116] Everett P. Wheeler, Cutting, Schurz, and the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, for six years the brains and stimulus behind the political career of Low, well knew his personal unpopularity with the voters. They also felt strongly that by yielding to his personal critics and to partisan cries they would be repudiating the good government they had advocated since 1897 and had substantially achieved by 1903.[117] Accordingly, they rallied together in conference all the 1901 Fusion organizations except the Greater New York Democracy and secured the Mayor's renomination.[118] As campaign assets the Citizens Union looked with pride on its successful Bureau of Naturalization, its stream of pamphlets in German, Italian, Yiddish and assorted other tongues, its flourishing district clubs, and the sizeable operating fund amassed during the previous two years.

In the face of political factionalism and of Tammany resurgence, Low as usual said nothing publicly. Privately he considered withdrawing from the contest. Trying for the nomination would be "the only wise and proper thing to do," President Roosevelt advised him.[119] Low, however, wrote Cutting that he deplored the intrusion of national politics into the campaign and that "the city's business would have first call on my time."[120] He absolved himself from any responsibility for his nomination: "The [Fusion] conference . . . must itself take the responsi-

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York whose reporters on political assignments have not reported to their desks that a ticket with Mr. Low at the head must be lost by a plurality estimated from 40,000 to 75,000."—*New York Times*, September 24, 1903.

[116] "Let us urge our views as strongly as possible in [nominating] committee, but when we appear in the face of the public, is it not better to appear united?" —E. P. Wheeler to James R. Burnet, April 23, 1901, E. P. Wheeler Collection, N.Y.P.L.

[117] On a trip to Florence, Italy, Wheeler prepared a memorandum for the Citizens Union on judicial nominations. But the principle he outlined continued to apply in 1903. "We have no *raison d'être* except that of the principles expressed in our Constitution, and can never compete with the professional politicians on their own ground. The attempt makes them in their hearts despise us. But on the solid ground of principles we are secure."—Memorandum, June 15, 1902, Wheeler to the Citizens Union, *ibid.*

[118] *Tribune*, September 10, 11, 13, 24, 29, 1903.

[119] Roosevelt to Low, August 1, 1903, *Roosevelt Letters.*

[120] *New York Times*, September 11, 1903.

bility, if it wishes me to stand, of *summoning* me into the field on its own action."[121]

Once more Low exhibited that distaste for political decision-making which characterized his performance in 1897 and 1901. If he thought he was being true to the spirit of nonpartisanship, he was being just as untrue to his Fusion supporters, who badly needed the kind of leadership and drive which only the head of a ticket can provide. His refusal to exercise this leadership alienated his political allies in much the same way as his aloofness had alienated the labor leader who could not get past his secretary. And not all of them contained their mounting exasperation in silence. One reformer, it will be remembered, had exclaimed in a letter to the *Herald* that Low, from his "altitude far removed" from the people, "does not and cannot understand their life and their real, personal civic ambitions." And Jerome campaigned vigorously against Low's renomination as a futile gesture which would insure defeat.

These people were at last expressing publicly an undercurrent of disillusion with the Mayor which began running early in his term. When he took office his public image was hazy. A great majority of New Yorkers vaguely expected a man of his type to bring about something of a millenium, a condition of well-being never before enjoyed in the city. Many of the intellectuals were not immune from this feeling. But when Low cut salaries, lengthened working hours of municipal employees, and refused to help thousands of political supporters, the picture of an intolerant and unsympathetic mayor emerged. The *Tribune* chastised the impatient who "do not find the city revolutionized."[122] But the Mayor's disappointed critics were not silenced. They took out their frustration in part on Commissioner Partridge. They also found new schools slow in coming, a Brooklyn water system still inadequate, and a transportation system far too crowded.[123]

Keyed up by Fusion idealism, exasperated New Yorkers forgot

[121] Italics mine. Low used the same word in accepting the 1901 Fusion nomination. —*Ibid.*

[122] *Tribune*, April 12, 1902.

[123] Erwin Wardman, "Men and Issues of the New York City Campaign," *Review of Reviews*, XVII (November 1903), 554–55.

that Tammany's legacy of poor planning and financial disarrangement rather than Low's neglect had caused these delays. The Rev. Dr. Parkhurst reminded the Mayor's critics that "shortcomings get a hundred times as much advertising as longcomings."[124] But the City Club and the City Vigilance League, to cite two groups who supported Low politically, only stimulated his debunkers with minute faultfinding in their zeal to achieve in two years what Low recognized would require decades. The broad improvements that were actually made came about so quietly that only some department heads, those directly concerned, and the sharp-eyed like Jacob Riis saw the transformation.[125]

A tendency to overenforce the drinking laws in 1903 antagonized the "storekeepers, the tradesmen, the mechanics, and the laborers."[126] City inspectors and tax collectors who acted with "an excess of zeal that was Calvinistic" prompted Low himself to request Corporation Counsel Rives to investigate reports of harsh treatment.[127] This extreme legality antagonized a population accustomed to a boss system of government whereby district leaders stood as mediators "between rigid, impersonal rulings of the statute and human failings of those ignorant of its complexities."[128] The peddlers who were licensed unwontedly and the poor who did not understand the need for compulsory innoculation turned a deaf ear to Low's campaign argument: "I tried to make everybody live up to the law. . . ."[129] Contractors and formerly privileged corporations reacted with the same hurt and resentment when they lost their influence at City Hall. These special-interest groups joined with tenement house owners in seeking out Tammany again. A police inspector commented that his men "believe they are being oppressed and they will take their revenge . . . . They will vote for their best interest."[130]

[124] Quoted in *Tribune*, May 25, 1903.
[125] *Tribune*, January 28, April 23, December 14, 23, 1902; May 24, 1903; *Nation*, LXXVII (October 15, 1903), 292.
[126] *New York Herald*, September 14, 1903.
[127] Wardman, *op. cit.*, 554; *Tribune*, December 16, 1902.
[128] Handlin, *op. cit.*, 213.
[129] *New York Times*, October 20, 1903.
[130] *New York Herald*, September 14, 1903.

How warm and friendly must have sounded McClellan's campaign indulgence of red light districts: "These evils will always exist. It is human nature."[131] The Congressman then attacked Low's increases in salaries, his strict enforcement of the liquor laws, Republican activities and appointments, and slowness in providing new schools.

No one during the campaign actually questioned the Mayor's honesty, integrity, or devotion to the city's welfare. But in his speeches the incumbent gradually revealed his own understanding of the extent to which his personality had become an issue. Referring to himself in the third person as "the Mayor," he would begin with a defense of his transportation improvements, fiscal reorganization, and civil service reforms. Then he would slip into the first person and try to convince his audiences that the Administration "had at heart the welfare of the people" as much as building bridges or negotiating contracts. Finally he would apologize for weaknesses: "No one is more conscious than I," he said, "that many mistakes have been made, but I never pretended to be other than a man." Twice during his final night of campaigning he strove to shift attention from himself: "I am nobody in this contest. . . . In this conflict for the honor and purity and good name of the city the candidate is nobody." His final gesture was to promise that this would be "the last time, whatever betide, that I shall be a candidate for a city office in the City of New York."[132] Low was 53 years old.

This contest had about it none of the popular excitement or moral indignation which in 1901 "shocked New Yorkers from habitual indifference to a political revolution that was little short of frenzied."[133] Whatever revolution may have occurred then was "calmly and deliberately" reversed "by the great jury of voters" and the old order was reëstablished.[134] "The dog has returned to his vomit," commented President Roosevelt.[135] Calmly

[131] *New York Times,* November 1, 1903.
[132] *Ibid.*
[133] Wardman, *op. cit.,* 551.
[134] *Tribune,* November 4, 1903.
[135] Roosevelt to Nicholas Murray Butler, November 4, 1903, *Roosevelt Letters.* After complaining of the "unlimited money" given to Tammany by some New York

and deliberately Seth Low was retired from the political scene.

McClellan polled 314,782 votes to Low's 252,086. In comparison with 1901 this meant Low had lost approximately 44,000 voters while Tammany had gained 49,000. Old faithful Brooklyn gave Low a 25,000 plurality in 1901, but in this election gave Tammany a 1,000 advantage. McClellan turned a 6,000 Democratic deficit in Manhattan in 1901 into a 25,000 majority in 1903. Low retained only seven of the fourteen Manhattan assembly districts he won in 1901, and in each of these his vote declined and Tammany's rose. In the strongly Tammany ninth and twentieth districts Low's 1901 gains over the Democrats vanished completely; and in the German districts Low supporters decreased 17 percent from 1901 while McClellan's rose 30 percent.[136]

Cracks on the face of Fusion, Low's lack of personal magnetism and political leadership, and the resurgence of partisanship do not, alone, explain this defeat. It was too broad for that. Other reasons appear to have grown organically from the character of his administration. He had failed through political default to consolidate the gains made with his initial election and had attracted no new body of supporters. Other factors include: the public's growing disillusion over what was thought to be his failure to effect municipal reforms which would clearly and quickly improve its lot; the electorate's resentment against too much law and too much governmental interference with its daily life; and antagonism aroused among neglected special-interest groups. These anti-reform feelings focused on an election when a traditionally complacent citizenry did not feel endangered and when Tammany Hall, normally the spokesman for the majority of New Yorkers, was at full strength. The result

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capitalists, the President cited what he viewed as the "chief element" in the defeat of Fusion: This "was the fact that Tammany on the whole comes nearer than a reform administration could come to giving New York the kind of administration which, when it is not having a spasm of virtue, it likes."

[136] *Tribune*, November 4, 1903; the official returns are taken from *New York City Record*, XXXI, No. 9304 (December 11, 1903); for a list of strong German districts, see *New York Times*, September 13, 1903.

was a reaction against the type of government as personified by Low and a return to normalcy in the city's politics.

VI

Low was never asked and he never tried to run again for a city-wide public office. He was not a politically aggressive man. He tolerated political organizations as an unavoidable evil in city affairs.[137] During his five campaigns and most notably during the last three in New York City, he willingly left the mundane tasks of platform-writing, campaign organization, and nomination to the leadership of others. The political infighting of the contest attracted him only so far as speeches and appearances were necessary to outline his principles. How much better he would have loved the formal proclamations of the early nineteenth century, which was so much a part of his ideological heritage.

Yet Low was not so much an aristocrat that he scorned popular suffrage. It "Americanizes our foreign-born citizens more rapidly than any other system possibly could," he wrote.[138] He simply found himself unwilling and often unable to adapt himself to its demands. His conservative instincts, high idealism, and refined intelligence made absurd, so far as he was concerned, the myriad of expediencies and compromises forced on public officials if they were to capture a popular following. The fascination of his political career lies in the fact that a man of such frigid austerity could have enjoyed even one success in a city whose dominant political, social, and economic mores bore so little resemblance to his own.

Certainly a partial explanation can be found in the special role he filled for the Citizens Union and Fusion. Despite his abhorrence of the hurly-burly of politics, Low was *willing* to stand for election when others preferred the role of sideline critic. He already enjoyed a national reputation as a reform mayor. As a

[137] But his goal in city politics had always been one of "how to get good government despite the machine of the dominant party, rather than how to get it through that party."—Seth Low, "An American View," in Bryce, *op. cit.* (1917 ed.), 670.

[138] Low, "Johns Hopkins Address," *op. cit.*, 4.

political theorist he brought wisdom to Citizens Union's otherwise naive conception of municipal management. His cautious approach to city affairs reflected the political attitudes of the people who advanced his nomination. And finally, his early espousal of nonpartisanship in local government and his firm refusal to involve himself in political factionalism made him a harmonizing force for the otherwise antagonistic, infrequently allied political groups which composed the Fusion camp.

If Low disclaimed responsibility for his political successes or failures, he just as fairly accepted judgment on his mayoralty. He had prescribed its terms in helping to shape the charter he administered. And he followed almost to the letter the policies and programs of which he had written and spoken before his 1901 election. Few men are so privileged and so fortunate as to translate their words so directly into deeds. In this success he was unquestionably assisted by the state of flux and need for forceful direction as the new City consolidated.

The heavy-handedness and upper-class associations which limited his political effectiveness aided him in transforming the mayor's office from a political to a business posture while he served. His methodical approach to daily minutiae never clouded his vision of a fiscally responsible City linked commercially with the nation. While he could not overcome the handicap of his short term and the tremendous housekeeping job left by Tammany, he facilitated the laying down of an organized basis for municipal progress. Criticism of his appointments for their political bias, social prominence, or specialized talents does not detract from his and their contributions to advancing the art and science of municipal government in New York City.[139]

But Low's was never a representative government. He little understood the aspirations and needs of the great body of New Yorkers. He made only shallow attempts to translate his administration—so stern and fatherly in its legality—into sights and sounds the people could see and hear. It is doubtful that the

[139] Mayors John Purroy Mitchell (1914–1918) and Fiorello H. LaGuardia (1934–1945) followed in their own way many of Low's administrative practices.

Mayor realized that he had been elected as an alternative to Tammany Hall rather than for his own sake. As a result, his standards remained ever those of the reform minority and he was unable to convert discontented independents and rebellious Tammany regulars into permanent Fusion supporters.

The insubstantial nature of the citizens' movement only exaggerated his natural alienation from the people. Its seven years of molding an anti-Tammany organization could not overcome the limitations of its intellectual, nonpolitical origins. Essentially the creation of men of wealth and standing who, with Low, worshipped the codes of home rule and nonpartisanship, the Union experienced none of the organic growth that made the Tammany machine an integral part of the lives of its members. This limitation did not detract from the Union's effectiveness in selecting Low and guiding Fusion. It does explain, however, its inability to sublimate party loyalty in a city bred on partisanship. While the various good government and reform clubs which backed Fusion were focussing upon specific civic improvements, the Tammany autocracy worked night and day to hold the allegiance of its members. As a combination employment agency, labor union, publicity machine, and social welfare agency, the machine did what the Republican organization only envied and the reformers never understood. It made politics a vital, living force. In trying to realign this force, the reformers were dealing with fundamental social and economic conditions that could not be changed by a party platform, a candidate no matter how competent, or a single election.

Thus it was that Seth Low found the all-embracing world of New York City politics largely unreceptive to his methods and philosophy. It must have been a trying experience for a man so successful in other fields. His consolation was that he had significantly advanced a pattern of reform and a way of governing that with variations has been successfully repeated by others. It is a tribute to Low that this should be the legacy of a man whose temperament and heritage so handicapped his implementation of a vision of municipal progress.

THE CAPTURE OF STONY POINT, JULY 16, 1779

Illustration by Frederick Coffay Yohn (1875–1933) in *Scribner's Magazine*, 1898

THE BRITONS WHO FOUGHT AT STONY POINT

UNIFORMS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

by Richard J. Koke, *Curator of the Museum*

IT WAS two hours past midnight: the dark morning of July 16, 1779. The sounds of battle had subsided. On a rocky promontory jutting into the Hudson River a captive British garrison of 543 officers and men stood huddled in dejected groups within the fortifications of Stony Point under guard by the Light Infantry of the Continental Army. Only two hours before, three American columns of attack had converged on the British position, protected on three sides by the tidal waters of the Hudson and on the fourth by a deep and sluggish morass which rendered access from the mainland difficult.

The youthful British commandant had boasted that his post was a Little Gibraltar, but, with unloaded muskets and orders to rely only on the bayonet, the Americans under Brigadier-General Anthony Wayne had stormed the supposedly impregnable position. Now the piercing flashes of a desultory American cannonade with captured guns against British shipping in the river and an enemy post on the east shore replaced the triumphant yells of the attackers. It was 2:00 in the morning when the wounded American commander penned a brief note to General George Washington, who was eagerly awaiting the outcome of battle in headquarters at the north gate of the Highlands of the Hudson: "The fort & Garrison with Col°. Johnston are ours. Our Officers & men behaved like men who are determined to be free."

The brilliant victory was a bright spot for Americans in 1779, and their success was hailed throughout their land and among

the friendly nations of Europe. America had demonstrated to the world that the raw Colonials who had gone into the bitter winter camp at Valley Forge were learning well the lessons of discipline taught them by their Prussian drillmaster.

The fascination of Stony Point held steadfast for generations, and in 1920 attracted the interest of Dr. LeRoy E. Kimball of New York University when he established a country residence on the summit of Buckberg Mountain, whence Washington and Wayne had reconnoitred the Point ten days before the attack. From the mountaintop windows of the Kimball home a magnificent panorama spread to the south, encompassing the bold headland and the wide waters of Haverstraw Bay and the great valley where so much Revolutionary history had taken place.

Soon Dr. Kimball became engrossed in the historic associations of the battleground, which had been purchased by the State of New York in 1897 for preservation as a historic site. As chairman of the Stony Point Committee of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, of which he was long President, Dr. Kimball was instrumental in furthering the development work on the Point, the marking of old fortifications and areas of battle, and the planning of patriotic celebrations. In 1934 he assisted in the procurement of funds for erecting within the outer line of the old British defenses a handsome museum in Hudson Valley colonial style; which was dedicated in 1936. Dr. Kimball's search for Stony Point materials took him along many ways and byways, and in London in 1937 he sought out pictorial delineations of the British troops which had served on the Point in 1779.

English students of British army dress have long been noted for their competent and diligent research, presented in frequent contributions to the *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* and other publications. Working with official records and facilities close at home, these capable scholars are in a favored position to reappraise from time to time their field of study and to supplement their knowledge of the uniform dress of the British Army in the light of newly discovered facts and con-

temporary pictorial data. All this, naturally, is of interest to the American military student, for England sent some of her finest regiments to fight in the war to retain her Thirteen Colonies.

The New-York Historical Society, likewise, has for many years been actively interested in the dress, accessories, and mode of life of the fighters in our early wars. In 1926 it brought out Charles M. Lefferts' scholarly treatise on the *Uniforms of the Armies of the War of the American Revolution*—a work of unusual merit that has become a collector's item. During the same period the archaeological investigations of the Society's former Field Exploration Committee on military sites of the American Revolution and the War of 1812 unearthed many artifacts illuminative of this subject. These were described and interpreted in a series of monographs in our *Quarterly Bulletin* by Reginald Pelham Bolton and William Louis Calver. Their articles on the relics and accoutrements of those wars, because of steady demand, were collected and published in 1950 as *History Written with Pick and Shovel.*

During the course of his life-long research into the history and dress of the British regiments which served in the American dependencies, William L. Calver, the Committee chairman, kept in contact with many of the leading British military students, among them Alexander R. Cattley (1885–1955), a London newspaper artist and designer whose vocation proved most useful in his avocation of depicting British Army uniforms with historical accuracy. His most noted published article is a study of "The British Infantry Shako" which appeared in the 1936 winter issue of the *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research.*

Correspondence and an exchange of information between the two men covered a period of sixteen years from 1924 until Calver's death, during which time Cattley extended his circle of acquaintances among American military students of the 18th and early 19th centuries. Among the fruits of his American association was a series of twenty-eight watercolors, which he executed for The New-York Historical Society, of officers and men

of the British regiments serving in North America during the War of 1812. Many of the details depicted were based on regimental accoutrements excavated by the Committee on early 19th-century British military sites along the Canadian frontier. These drawings, for the first time on this side of the Atlantic, depicted the correct uniforms of these regiments. Between 1929 and 1935 he likewise painted another series of twenty watercolors for Stephen H. P. Pell of British troops serving with Burgoyne in 1777; which are now in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

The quality of the Pell illustrations prompted Dr. Kimball in 1937 to commission Cattley to illustrate the uniforms of the British and Loyalist soldiers who were at Stony Point in 1779—not only those who participated in the midnight battle, but also those who served on the promontory during the entire five-month British occupation. Wayne's assault has been the most memorable event associated with the Point, but it was only an interlude in the Revolutionary history of the headland. Throughout the war it served as an important military post athwart the river-crossing of King's Ferry, whereby the Colonials maintained vital contact between New England and the Middle and Southern States.

On three separate occasions—in 1777, 1778, and 1779—the Point was occupied by British troops dispatched upstream from their base positions lower down the Hudson: the most noted seizure being that of May 31, 1779, when it was captured from its small American garrison and occupied until the American attack on July 16th. The victors, however, held the ground for only two days—just long enough to remove the captive garrison and supplies and to destroy and evacuate the works. On July 19th a British relief expedition appeared in the river to succour the threatened British post on the opposite Westchester shore, and landing parties reoccupied the Point and held it until the entire garrison was withdrawn in October.

The troops which Cattley was to represent were the enlisted personnel of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, the 17th, 42d, 63d, 64th, and 71st Regiments of Foot, and two provincial

A. R. CATTLEY (1885–1955)
In Dr. Kimball's garden, "Brooklands"
Wescott, Dorking, Surrey, England

regiments known as the Loyal American Regiment and the Volunteers of Ireland. It was decided also to delineate the Soldier Artificer Company, the only company existing in 1779 which later became part of the Royal Engineers. During the autumn and winter of 1937 Cattley correlated the details of dress from his own data, and from research in the War Office Library and the vast collection compiled by the eminent British military historian, Percival W. Reynolds. Some details relating to the Loyalist corps (not easily found in English sources, since the regiments had been short-lived, American in origin, and not so closely regulated in dress as the regular Army) were supplied by Calver.

Nine of the drawings were put on illustration board in watercolor and ink early in 1938. Four were sent by post to Dr. Kimball, while the remaining five were delivered to him during his annual visit to England in August 1938. In 1939 Cattley did a second illustration of a soldier of the Volunteers of Ireland, and in 1946 another of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, depicting how the regimental dress changed as a result of hard campaigning during the American Revolution.*

Dr. Kimball placed these drawings on loan at the Stony Point

* The four studies dispatched by post to Dr. Kimball were representations of the 17th, 42d, 64th, and 71st Regiments. The five delivered personally to him at Dorking in August were those of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, the Soldier Artificer Company, the 63d Regiment, and the Loyal American Regiment and Volunteers of Ireland. The Calver-Cattley correspondence is in the papers of the Field Exploration Committee at The New-York Historical Society. For the details of commissioning and executing the Stony Point watercolors see A. R. Cattley to W. L. Calver: September 25, October 5, 14, November 9, 21, 1937; January 8, February 28, May 3, June 23, July 4, 28, August 17, October 21, 1938; January 24, March 14, May 31, and July 18, 1939. The Reynolds Collection is contained in 83 volumes in the library of the South Kensington Museum.

Battlefield Museum for several years, and in 1957, after the death of the artist, presented them to The New-York Historical Society. Inasmuch as the Society published the valuable pioneer work by Lefferts on the uniforms of the contending armies in the War for American Independence, we present these eleven illustrations by Alexander R. Cattley as an additional contribution to the military iconography of that struggle. The accompanying details of regimental history are by the present writer, while the descriptions of the uniforms are from notes supplied by Cattley.

To clarify the terms which follow, it should be mentioned that at the outbreak of the war a British infantry regiment nominally consisted of ten companies, one of which was a light company and one a grenadier company. The position of these two companies on the right and left of the regiment resulted in their designation as flank companies. During the course of a campaign, or for special duty, they would customarily be detached from the regiment and consolidated with those from other corps into Light Infantry and Grenadier Battalions, and at the close would be reassigned to their individual regiments. The other eight companies of a regiment were called battalion companies. It was also familiar practice for a regiment of great numerical strength to be divided into two or more battalions, each frequently operating independently of the other.

THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY

The services of the Royal Regiment of Artillery are legion and it shares the battle honors of all other regiments. Until the early 18th century gunners, conductors, engineers, artificers, and pioneers constituted the Trains of Artillery which long did service in England's wars. They were organized only for specific campaigns or duties and were disbanded at the terminations of such campaigns. Not until 1716 was the Royal Regiment of Artillery established on a permanent footing, with two companies at Woolwich under control of the Board of Ordnance and the Master-General of the Ordnance. These companies were later increased, and by 1757 were twenty-four in number doing service both at home and abroad. In 1756 other companies were raised on the Irish

ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY, Gunner in summer field dress, *c.* 1779: Uniform: dark blue. Lapels to waist. Small round cuffs. Facings: scarlet, with red turnback to the coat. Lace: gold for officers, mens' white (scalloped ends). Buttons: officers gilt, other ranks brass and pewter set regularly apart. Breeches, waistcoat, linings, and stockings white. Short black half-gaiters (summer field dress). White stock. Hair not powdered on service. This illustration shows a gunner with his musket and bayonet, and gold-laced cocked hat with a leather cockade.—A. R. Cattley.

Establishment to become the Royal Irish Artillery until its absorption into the Royal Artillery in 1801.

Before the outbreak of the American Revolution the Royal Regiment of Artillery had been divided into four battalions, two having been established in 1757, the third by 1761, and the fourth in 1771, with permanent headquarters for all battalions at Woolwich. The Master-General acted as Colonel-in-Chief. Seventy men of the Royal Irish Artillery saw service in America in 1777, and there are indications that some companies of the 1st and 3d Battalions participated in the American Revolution. But whatever part they played is overshadowed by the presence of the 4th Battalion which, coming to America in 1773, served throughout the war as a

ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY, This illustration shows how the regimental dress changed during the American Revolution through lack of new supplies and hard wear on the uniforms. Certain items of dress and equipment, such as bright metal ornaments, badges, and buckles, which were likely to offer targets to the enemy, were done away with. All lace on the coat and hat was ripped off. The coat was of a coarse dark blue material, and often the tails were cut off to shorten it into a jacket—or coatee—in order that cut-off parts could be used to repair other parts of the coat. There was a red turnback to the coatee. Officers generally had cloth of a better quality. Facings: coarse brick-red material. The trousers or overalls were long and loose, made in one piece from old tents which were stained brown. Captain Georg Pausch, a German artillery officer serving with the British in Canada, wrote in November 1776 that his entire company was furnished with winter clothing, including "one pair of long blue cloth over-alls such as are worn by sailors, which come high up above the hips and way down to the shoes. These are fastened under the feet with a leather strap, and have five buttons on the outside of each leg and extend about a quarter the way up from the ankle" (G. Pausch, translated and annotated by William L. Stone, *Journal of Captain Pausch, Chief of the Hanau Artillery during the Burgoyne Campaign* [Albany: 1886], 93–94). No gaiters and no stock. Hair plat turned up. Leather flash. – A. R. Cattley.

complete unit. The command of all of the Artillery in the Colonies, regardless of battalion or unit, was vested with the commandants of the 4th Battalion.

Therefore, in tracing the American service of the Artillery, the records of the 4th Battalion form the best groundwork. The 4th, moreover, was the only battalion which ever went on service abroad accompanied by its headquarters staff. When hostilities began in 1775 battalion headquarters was in Boston. In 1776 it moved to New York, there to remain throughout the war, while the companies were scattered with the armies and in garrisons throughout the Colonies and on the lakes and, at times, even on board British naval craft. Battalion letterbooks are replete with complaints about recruiting, pay, clothing, and equipment that might have been obviated had the staff officers concerned remained in England. With companies assigned throughout the Continent and headquarters virtually imprisoned in New York, the resultant confusion was endless. The time spent in correspondence between London and New York, between New York and the detachments, and then back again to England was both exasperating and ridiculous. The companies were shackled to a beleaguered American battalion headquarters which, in turn, was bound to a distant department that did not permit it the least independence of action.

Major-General James Pattison, commandant of the 4th Battalion during part of the American war, served as commandant of the city and garrison of New York in 1779–80. In the assault on Stony Point in July 1779 four rank and file of the Artillery were wounded; and one captain, one lieutenant, one conductor, one drummer, and forty-two rank and file were taken prisoners by the Americans. The only man who succeeded in escaping was Lieutenant John Roberts of the Artillery, who slipped away by swimming nearly a mile in the Hudson River to H.B.M. sloop-of-war *Vulture*.

With the peace of 1783 the regiment was reduced from 5,337 of all ranks to 3,302. The East India Company's artillery was absorbed into the regiment in 1858, and in 1859 a sweeping change abolished the old system of one regiment, divided into battalions and companies, with a permanent base at Woolwich. In their place the companies were redesignated as batteries linked together into brigades at various stations throughout the Empire, and the battalion staffs at Woolwich were dispersed among them as separate brigade staffs.

REFERENCES: W. L. Calver and R. P. Bolton, *History Written with Pick and Shovel* (New York: 1950), 107–8; H. M. Chichester and G. Burges-Short, *The Records and Badges of Every Regiment and Corps in the British Army* (2d ed.; London: n.d.), 145–47; F. Duncan, *History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.* (3d ed.; London: 1879), 2 vols., *passim;* J. S. Farmer, *The Regimental Records of the British Army* (London: 1901), 62–63; J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, II (London: 1899), 587; J. H. Lawrence-Archer, *The British Army: Its Regimental Records, Badges, Devices, Etc.* (London: 1888), 91–96; M. E. S. Laws, comp., *Battery Records of the Royal Artillery, 1716–1859* (Woolwich: 1952), *passim.*

THE CORPS OF ROYAL ENGINEERS

The Corps of Royal Engineers, as ultimately organized, resulted from the amalgamation of two separate military units—one, of officers who originally were the Royal Engineers; and the other, of enlisted subordinates who worked as laborers and at special trades. At first, the Engineers consisted only of a small group of officers whose purpose it was to plan and supervise the construction of military works. The organization of the Engineer arm dates from 1716 with the establishment, as part of the military branch of the Board of Ordnance, of a corps of twenty-eight Engineers, including a Chief-Engineer, Directors of Engineers, Engineers in Ordinary, Engineers Extraordinary, Sub-Engineers, and Practitioner Engineers. Such a unit today would be considered a Staff Corps. Prior to 1716 the engineers had been dispersed among the Trains of Artillery.

The establishment underwent changes from time to time. Though in constant demand and despite the importance of their services, the Royal Engineers were, in their early years, slighted as to military rank. They were considered by the Army as workmen, not fighting men, holding their posts by warrants from the Board of Ordnance. Not until 1757 did they receive rank in the Army and commissions from the King. Considering the vast area of the Empire across which their work was distributed, their number in the 18th century was pitifully small. In 1717 the Corps was raised to thirty-four. In 1748 it totalled only thirty-three; in 1755, fifty-six; in 1776, sixty-nine; and in 1780, seventy-five. With the reductions following the termination of the American war the Corps was reduced in 1784 to sixty-one.

For the first 140 years of its existence there was no attached rank and file, so the Engineers had to rely on hired civilians skilled in the building trades, and on fatigue details drawn from regiments garrisoned in the districts where they were assigned. In 1756 a company of Miners was formed for service in Minorca—doing the type of work later included as part of the activities of the Royal Engineers, but on its return to Woolwich the company was incorporated into the Royal Regiment of Artillery. The first company later to be included within the Royal Engineer framework was organized in 1772 from a small body of military artificers at Gibraltar. Until then the Engineers on duty at England's Mediterranean outpost, as elsewhere, had to rely on regimental work crews and hired civilians. Civilian mechanics and shifting regimental personnel, however, posed problems of inefficiency and unreliability, and there was every reason to hope that better results at less expense would ensue from the establishment of a construction company entirely military in character and control.

As a result, the Soldier Artificer Company came into being with royal assent in 1772—the enlisted men consisting of recruits and transfers who

SOLDIER ARTIFICER COMPANY, Private in winter dress and soldier in working dress, *c.* 1779: This company had two uniforms: one similar to the ordinary dress of infantry regiments, and the other a working dress, which was interesting as one of the first attempts to provide such an outfit for troops. Uniform: scarlet (1772–87). Lapels to waist (except working dress). Small round cuffs. Facings: black (previously orange). Lace: gold for officers, other ranks yellow (scalloped ends). Buttons: officers gilt, other ranks pewter (set regularly apart). Breeches, waistcoat, and linings white. Long black gaiters with white tops (winter dress). Black leather stock. Hair not powdered on service. This illustration shows the uniform of a private with a bayonet and camp axe attached to his shoulder belt. It also shows the working dress: a plain red jacket (winter dress), black gaiters, and a round white hat about six inches high, with a yellow band and broad brim.—A. R. Cattley.

were skilled as stonecutters, masons, bricklayers, miners, lime-burners, carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, coopers, wheelers, and the like. The noncommissioned officers acted as foremen of the different trades, while over-all supervision of the Company was in the hands of the Engineers, but in no sense was the Company considered part of the existing establishment of Royal Engineers, and eighty-four more years were to elapse before working companies were actually incorporated within the Corps.

In 1786 the Company was divided in two, and in the following year its functions—until then localized at Gibraltar—were given to a newly established single corps of several companies known as the Royal Military Artificers. Though considered a separate unit, these companies continued to be officered by the Engineers. They were first assigned to various dockyards and military stations in England, but other companies were raised later for service abroad. In 1812 the name was changed to the Royal Military Artificers or Sappers and Miners, and in 1813 to the simpler designation of Royal Sappers and Miners, still under its own table of organization. Not until 1856 was this unit consolidated with the Engineer establishment, whose officers thereby finally gained direct control of their long-time independently organized subordinates. The East India Company engineers were absorbed into the Corps in 1858. All were now known as Royal Engineers.

The accompanying illustration by Cattley, based upon a lithographic frontispiece in Thomas Connolly's *History of the Corps of Royal Sappers and Miners*, depicts the parade and working dress of the Soldier Artificer Company of 1772–87—the first of the companies later included in the Royal Engineers. This Company never saw service in America; nor was there such a company on duty in the American war. Only the Engineer officers served in the struggle, and these, at times, were assisted by others detached from the Artillery and Infantry for temporary service as Assistant Engineers. Artificers were probably hired for the service, while most of the manual work was done by fatigue details. Lieutenant William Twiss, who served as Burgoyne's Engineer in 1777, recommended the formation of a corps of military artificers for American service, but no action seems to have been taken.

The Engineers who did supervisory duty at Stony Point in 1779 were Captain Alexander Mercer and Captain-Lieutenant Archibald Robertson. In 1757, the year in which the Engineers received rank in the Army, their dress was described in a London letter in the *Ipswich Journal* as a red uniform with black velvet lapels, and buff waistcoats and breeches "richly laced."

REFERENCES: H. M. Chichester and G. Burges-Short, *The Records and Badges of Every Regiment and Corps in the British Army* (2d ed.; London: n.d.), 152–54; T. W. J. Connolly, *History of the Corps of Royal Sappers and Miners* (London: 1855), 2 vols., *passim;* E. E. Curtis, *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution* (New Haven: 1926), 8–9, and notes 20, 153; F. Duncan, *History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, I (London: 1879), 159; J. W. Fortescue,

Richard J. Koke

THE 17th REGIMENT OF FOOT

The 17th Regiment of Foot, formed in 1688, was a veteran corps which saw many years of American service. It arrived first at Halifax in 1757, and in the following year participated in the expedition which captured Louisbourg. After that, it sailed for Boston and marched to Lake George, wintered in Philadelphia, moved north again in 1759 with the expedition which captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and then formed part of the army which conquered Canada in 1760. In 1761 it returned to New York and camped on Staten Island, then sailed for the West Indies to aid in the reduction of Martinique and Havana. Returning to New York in 1762, it remained in the Colonies, mostly on the frontier, until 1767 when it was relieved of duty and ordered back to Europe.

The 17th was one of the most unfortunate of British regiments which served in the American Revolution, being twice captured by the Americans during the conflict. It embarked in Ireland in August 1775 for its return to the Colonies, but contrary winds delayed its arrival at Boston until the end of the year. It withdrew to Nova Scotia with the British Army in March 1776, returned with Sir William Howe to Staten Island, fought in the Battle of Long Island, and participated in the New York and Westchester campaign. Moving into New Jersey, it lay directly athwart Washington's path at Princeton when the latter struck at the British line of communication on January 3, 1777. The Regiment had a hard fight before disengaging itself with a loss of 101 killed, wounded, and missing, out of 240 officers and men.

In June 1777 it served in the New Jersey campaign, and in July sailed on the Pennsylvania expedition to fight at Brandywine and Germantown. It wintered in Philadelphia and accompanied the British army on its withdrawal to New York in 1778, during which time the flank companies were engaged at Monmouth. In September it took part in Grey's raiding expedition up Long Island Sound against New Bedford and Martha's Vineyard, and subsequently was present in the operations in Bergen County, New Jersey. After wintering at Kingsbridge, it moved into the field again in 1779, and on May 31st was one of the units which landed from ships in the Hudson River to effect the capture of Stony Point. The main body of British troops was withdrawn in the weeks which followed, and the entire 17th, with other detachments, was left in garrison under its regimental commandant, Lt.-Col. Henry Johnston. As a result of Wayne's assault in July, the bulk of the regiment was captured with a loss of 13 killed, 45 missing, and 265 officers and men taken prisoner,

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A History of the British Army, II (London: 1899), 300–1; J. H. Lawrence-Archer, *The British Army: Its Regimental Records, Badges, Devices, Etc.* (London: 1888), 110–12; W. Porter, *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers* (London: 1889), 2 vols., *passim; Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, XIV (1935), 74–75; and *ibid.*, XXXIII (1955), 62, citing the *Ipswich Journal.*

17th REGIMENT OF FOOT, Battalion Soldier, *c.* 1779: Uniform: scarlet. Lapels to waist. Small round cuffs. Facings: grayish white (up to 1790). Lace: silver for officers, mens' white, with two blue and one yellow stripe (square loops). Buttons: officers silver, other ranks pewter. Breeches, waistcoat, and linings grayish white. Short black half-gaiters (summer field dress). Black leather stock.—A. R. Cattley.

together with its regimental colors which were not replaced until 1787.

As the personnel of the 17th was exchanged, a captain's detachment was formed and quartered on Long Island, but a monthly return of August 1780 indicates that the officers and men of the headquarters detachment were still captives. In October that year the Long Island detachment was dispatched with Leslie's expedition to the Virginia coast, but Leslie's stay there was brief, for he continued southward in November by sea to join the Southern army. The 17th, in the meantime, was building up its strength as the men were exchanged. In March 1781 it had 328 effectives on Long Island, and in May the greater part of the regiment was included in a reinforcement sent to Virginia to reinforce Cornwallis.

In August the entire Virginia force assembled at Yorktown and Gloucester, and underwent the fateful siege which followed. When the 17th was surrendered, along with the other British troops, on October 19, 1781, it showed a strength of 245 officers and men. A regimental detachment stationed at Charleston, S.C., showed a strength in January 1782 of 3 officers and 95 men, and in January 1783 this detachment, then consisting of 5 officers and 74 men, with women and children, arrived at New York on board the fleet and was stationed at New York and Kingsbridge. The captives taken in Virginia rejoined the regiment during routine prisoner exchanges, and in October 1783 the regiment, with a muster of 14 officers and 347 effective rank and file, sailed from New York for Nova Scotia. It remained at Halifax until 1786, when it returned home after eleven years of American service. It received its present designation, the Leicestershire Regiment, in August 1782.

REFERENCES: R. Cannon, comp., *Historical Record of the Seventeenth, or the Leicestershire Regiment of Foot* (London: 1848); H. M. Chichester and G. Burges-Short, *The Records and Badges of Every Regiment and Corps in the British Army* (2d ed.; London: n.d.), 309–10; R. J. Koke collection of British regimental data.

THE 42d REGIMENT OF FOOT

The Royal Highland Regiment

The 42d Regiment of Foot, one of the most famous in British military history and the oldest of the Highland regiments in service, had its origin in 1729 with the organization of six independent companies of Highlanders to keep peace in the Scottish Highlands. The somber appearance of the dark Government tartan—mostly in hues of black, blue, and green—was the reason these companies were designated *An Freiceadan Dubh* or "Black Watch" as distinguishing them from the regular troops, called *Saighdearan Dearg* or "red soldiers" from the prevailing color of their uniforms.

Ten years later—in 1739—these companies were formed into a regiment taking rank as the 43d or Highland Regiment of Foot, but retaining

its popular name of the Black Watch. In 1749, in consequence of the reduction of the old 42d Regiment, the numerical designation of the Highland Regiment was altered from the 43d to the 42d.

It saw many years of service in America, first in 1756 when it sailed for the Colonies for eleven years of duty. During that time it served against the French in northern New York, participated in the expeditions against Louisbourg and Ticonderoga, and engaged in the conquest of Canada. It moved to the West Indies to help in the reduction of Guadaloupe, Martinique, and Havana, and then came back to the Colonies for harassing frontier service against the Indians, especially at Bushy Run in 1763. Even before news of its gallant conduct at Ticonderoga had reached England, it was granted royal distinction in 1758 when the King designated it the "Royal Highland Regiment." In 1767, to the great regret of the American colonists, it finally embarked at Philadelphia and in October landed at Cork.

Its second tour of American duty began on May 1, 1776, when it sailed from Greenock in company with the 71st Regiment, landing on Staten Island in August. Thereafter it was constantly employed throughout the war either in regimental strength or with one or the other of the flank battalions. It fought in the Battles of Long Island, Harlem Heights, Fort Washington, and in the New Jersey campaign of 1776–77. It took the field under Sir William Howe in June of 1777, and sailed from New York in July with the British army on the expedition to Pennsylvania, where it engaged at Brandywine and in the Paoli Massacre. In 1778 it was posted within the New York lines, and in September participated in Grey's expedition up Long Island Sound against New Bedford and Martha's Vineyard and in the Baylor Massacre in New Jersey.

After a brief raiding expedition to Portsmouth on the Virginia coast in May 1779, the 42d returned to New York in time to participate in the British expedition into Westchester County and the thrust against King's Ferry in May and June. It was withdrawn from King's Ferry after the capture of the American posts, but on July 19th, following Wayne's spectacular assault, the 42d took part in the British relief expedition which recaptured Stony Point, and it remained in garrison on the headland until it returned to New York in September. In April 1780 it sailed from New York to reinforce the British army besieging Charleston and, after the surrender of the Carolina city in May, the 42d returned to New York, where it remained in station for the remainder of the war. In October 1783 it was sent to Halifax and in 1789 sailed for England, landing at Portsmouth after an absence of fourteen years.

REFERENCES: R. M. Barnes, C. K. Allen, and T. B. Beatty, *The Uniforms and History of the Scottish Regiments* (London: 1956), 50, 51, 52–53; R. Cannon, comp., *Historical Record of the Forty-Second, or the Royal Highland Regiment* (London: 1845), *passim;* H. M. Chichester and G. Burges-Short, *The Records and Badges of Every Regiment and Corps in the British Army* (2d ed.; London: n.d.), 547–49; P.

42d REGIMENT OF FOOT, Battalion Soldier, *c.* 1779: Uniform: short scarlet coat. Lapels to waist. Small round cuffs. Facings: blue. Lace: gold for officers, mens' white, with one red stripe (square loops). Buttons: officers gilt, other ranks pewter. Waistcoat and linings white. No breeches. Highland kilt, with the Government tartan. White goatskin and buff leather sporran or purse, with six tassels. Blue bonnet with a small diced border of red and white, ornamented with a plume of black ostrich feathers. Hose: red and white checquered, with a narrow black line edging to the red. Black leather stock and bayonet belt. In 1775 the men were supplied with muskets and bayonets by the government, and broadswords and all-steel pistols by the Colonel. After campaigning in America the regiment discarded the broadsword and pistols, relying solely on the musket and bayonet.—A. R. Cattley.

THE 63d REGIMENT OF FOOT

The 63d Regiment of Foot dates from 1758 with its creation from the 2d Battalion of the 8th Regiment. That same year it accompanied the expedition which was sent to attack the French in the West Indies and in 1759 participated in the reduction of Guadaloupe, where it remained in station after the capture. Still in the West Indies in 1762 when war was declared against Spain, it took part in the capture of Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and other French islands. It returned to England in 1764. It is said that after the capture of Guadaloupe the 63d wore the French *fleur-de-lis* as a badge for some years, and the symbol became so suggestive of a mosquito that the regiment was popularly nicknamed "The Bloodsuckers."

At the outbreak of the American Revolution the 63d was among the reinforcements ordered to the revolting American Colonies, arriving in Boston in June 1775 in time for the flank companies to engage in the Battle of Bunker Hill. It fought through the entire war. In 1776 it served at Long Island, in the New York campaign, and in the expedition to Rhode Island. Recalled to New York in May 1777, its flank companies were detached and sent with the army to Pennsylvania, where they fought at Brandywine and Germantown. The battalion companies, however, remained at New York. In September they were active in a raid into northern New Jersey, and on October 6th took part in the attack on Fort Clinton in the Highlands of the Hudson. Later that month the battalion companies were also sent by sea to reinforce Howe in Pennsylvania, and there the regiment wintered.

In June 1778 the 63d accompanied the British army on the withdrawal across New Jersey, and in 1779 did duty in and around New York. In May it moved into Westchester County with Sir Henry Clinton's troops and embarked at Yonkers to engage in the capture of Stony Point on May 31st. It remained at King's Ferry until the end of June, then was sent back to the Westchester position near Yonkers but, after the capture of Stony Point, was again embarked to effect the recapture of the Point. It remained in garrison there until its withdrawal to New York in September.

In December 1779 the regiment was sent by sea with the British expedition against Charleston, where it served in the siege leading to the surrender of May 1780. Continuing in the Southern service and with some of its companies mounted as dragoons, it fought at Hobkirk's Hill and at Eutaw Springs in 1781. In the spring of 1782 it finally sailed from Charleston to Jamaica in the West Indies, where it was posted when it

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Groves, *History of the 42nd Royal Highlanders—'The Black Watch'* (Edinburgh and London: 1893), *passim;* R. J. Koke collection of British regimental data.

63d REGIMENT OF FOOT, Battalion Soldier in summer field dress and full marching order, *c.* 1779: Uniform: scarlet. Lapels to waist. Small round cuffs. Facings: deep green. Lace: silver for officers, mens' white, with a very small green stripe (square loops). Buttons: officers silver, other ranks pewter (set regularly apart). Breeches, waistcoat, and linings white. Short black half-gaiters (summer field dress). Black leather stock. Hair not powdered on service. Early badge: *fleur-de-lis.*—A. R. Cattley.

received its county title of the West Suffolk Regiment in 1782. It returned to England after the peace of 1783.

REFERENCES: H. M. Chichester and G. Burges-Short, *The Records and Badges of Every Regiment and Corps in the British Army* (2d ed.; London: n.d.), 691; J. H. Lawrence-Archer, *The British Army: Its Regimental Records, Badges, Devices, Etc.* (London: 1888), 440–41; R. J. Koke collection of British regimental data; *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research,* VIII (1929), 239.

THE 64th REGIMENT OF FOOT

The 64th Regiment of Foot, organized in 1758 from the 2d Battalion of the 11th Regiment, saw its first American service in the West Indies in 1758–63 when it served at the capture of Guadaloupe in 1759 and remained there until its return to Ireland four years later. In November 1768 and early 1769 the regiment arrived in Boston, and in May 1770 embarked for Halifax, Nova Scotia. It returned to Boston in 1773, taking up quarters in Castle William, where it remained until the evacuation of 1776.

In February 1775, two months before the outbreak of armed hostilities at Lexington and Concord, the 64th was dispatched on an expedition to Salem to seize American military supplies, but the troops were compelled to halt when the hostile Salem townspeople raised a drawbridge across an intervening stream. After futile argument with the Salem folk, Lt.-Col. Alexander Leslie agreed to return to Boston provided the bridge were lowered and he at least allowed the token compliance of marching his troops across it and back again. Had the events and tempers of the day reached the same extremity they were shortly to attain at Lexington and Concord—when another expedition was sent from Boston to seize war supplies—the American Revolution might have been precipitated at Salem by the 64th Regiment.

Though stationed in Boston harbor, the regiment took no part either in the Concord expedition or in the fateful Battle of Bunker Hill. It served in the New York and Westchester campaign of 1776, in Tryon's Danbury raid in April 1777, in the brief New Jersey campaign in June, and in July sailed with the British army to Chesapeake Bay to effect the conquest of Pennsylvania. It fought at Brandywine and Germantown, and in 1778 was in the 4th Brigade when the British retreated across the Jersey plains to Sandy Hook and took station within the New York defenses. In September 1778 it was one of the units engaged in Grey's naval raid against New Bedford and Martha's Vineyard and in Baylor's Massacre at Old Tappan. In May 1779 it took part in the British expedition into Westchester County and up the Hudson which resulted in the capture of Stony Point on May 31st. It was then withdrawn but, on July 17th, after Wayne's surprise attack, was reembarked with the British

64th REGIMENT OF FOOT, Battalion Soldier in full marching order, *c.* 1779: Uniform: scarlet. Lapels to waist. Small round cuffs. Facings: black. Lace: gold for officers, mens' white, with a red and black stripe (square loops). Buttons: officers gilt, other ranks pewter. Breeches, waistcoat, and linings white. Long black gaiters with white tops (winter dress). Black leather stock. The musket lockplate is shown with an oily rag tied around it for protection against rain and dampness when not in use.—A. R. Cattley.

71st REGIMENT OF FOOT, Grenadier, *c.* 1779: Uniform: short scarlet coat. Lapels to waist. Small round cuffs. Facings: white. Lace: silver for officers, mens' white, with a small red stripe –or worm (square loops). Buttons: officers silver, other ranks pewter–all numbered "71". Waistcoat and linings white. No breeches. Highland kilt, with Fraser tartan. Black bearskin cap with the King's crest and the motto *Nec Aspera Terrent*. Hose: red and white checquered, with a narrow black line edging to the red, similar to that worn by the 42d Regiment. Black leather stock. Black leather bayonet belt. Black steel broadsword, and Scottish all-metal flintlock pistol with scroll-butt, belt-hook, and ball-trigger, carried by officers and enlisted men in the several Highland regiments sent to the American Colonies.—A. R. Cattley.

relief expedition sent to succour the King's Ferry position. It remained at Stony Point until September, when it returned to New York and went into camp on the Kingsbridge lines.

In December the regiment accompanied the expedition against South Carolina, where it served in the siege of Charleston and took post there after the surrender in May 1780. It served thereafter under Lord Rawdon in the relief of Ninety Six, fought at Eutaw Springs in September 1781, then retired to Charleston where it remained until ordered to the West Indies in the spring of 1782. While stationed that year in Jamaica it received its county designation of the Second Staffordshire Regiment. It returned to England in 1784.

REFERENCES: H. M. Chichester and G. Burges-Short, *The Records and Badges of Every Regiment and Corps in the British Army* (2d ed.; London: n.d.), 701; J. H. Lawrence-Archer, *The British Army: Its Regimental Records, Badges, Devices, Etc.* (London: 1888), 447–48; H. G. Purdon, *Memoirs of the Services of the 64th Regiment (Second Staffordshire), 1758 to 1881* (London: n.d.), *passim;* R. J. Koke collection of British regimental data.

THE 71st REGIMENT OF FOOT

Fraser's Highlanders

The 71st Regiment of Foot which served in the American Revolution was the third to bear that numerical designation, and it was one of the most remarkable regiments recruited among the Highland clans for service during the war. Two other regiments so-numbered preceded it in service: the first, raised in Scotland, had been created in 1758 from the 2d Battalion of the 32d Regiment and was disbanded in 1763; the second had been created in 1764 from the 81st (Invalids) after the reduction of the previous 71st, and in 1765 was broken up into independent garrison companies. The third regiment, composed of two battalions, each 1,200 strong, was raised in October 1775 under the colonelcy of Major-General Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, whose father had been beheaded in 1747 for supporting the cause of the Stuart Pretender in the uprising of 1745. Many officers and privates of Fraser's old regiment of the Seven Years' War—the 78th, which served at Louisbourg and Quebec—enlisted in the new corps.

Few other regiments of the American Revolution were destined for as much active service. Assembled at Sterling and later at Glasgow, it sailed for America, May 1, 1776, in company with the 42d Regiment. One transport with part of Fraser's 2d Battalion unwittingly sailed into Boston harbor after its evacuation by the British and was captured by the Americans. The remainder joined Howe's army on Staten Island in July. It took part in the Battle of Long Island and in the New York and New Jersey campaigns of 1776–77. In July 1777 it went with the army to the Chesapeake and in September engaged in the Battle of Brandywine but in

December reembarked in the Delaware and returned by sea to New York for winter quarters. In the meantime, a detachment of regimental recruits at New York participated in the attack on Fort Clinton on the Hudson River on October 6, 1777.

In 1778 the regiment took post in various cantonments within the New York lines, and in November it sailed from Sandy Hook with the British expeditionary force which effected the capture of Savannah. Thereafter, it served conspicuously in the Southern operations. In the autumn of 1779 both battalions participated in the British defense of Savannah against the combined American and French forces. The grenadier company, which had remained in the North, was taken prisoner at Stony Point in July with a loss of 7 killed, 24 wounded, 25 missing, and 104 prisoners. In 1780 and 1781 the regiment engaged in the siege of Charleston and in the Battles of Camden, Cowpens, and Guilford Court House. It lost heavily in the South, and by the time Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in October the regiment had been reduced from its original force of over 2,000 to a paltry 300 men. These were held prisoners by the Americans until the end of the war when they returned to Scotland. The 2d Battalion was disbanded on April 5, 1783, and the 1st Battalion on June 4, 1784.

REFERENCES: R. M. Barnes, C. K. Allen, T. B. Beatty, *The Uniforms and History of the Scottish Regiments* (London: 1956), 64, 78; E. E. Curtis, *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution* (New Haven: 1926), 72; R. J. Koke collection of British regimental data.

THE LOYAL AMERICAN REGIMENT

The Loyal American Regiment was raised at New York in March 1777 by Beverly Robinson, a Loyalist and wealthy Dutchess County, N.Y., landowner who came into possession of vast estates in the Highlands of the Hudson through marriage into the Philipse family. He was made Colonel and many of his recruits were his tenants and people from his own part of the country. During most of the war the regiment was stationed at New York. In October 1777 it participated in the reduction of Fort Montgomery on the Hudson River. In May and early June 1779 it formed part of the contingent under Major-General John Vaughan which captured Fort Lafayette on Verplanck's Point. One company of the regiment was posted on Stony Point at the time of Wayne's assault in July, and lost one ensign wounded, eleven rank and file missing, and one captain, two ensigns, two sergeants, two drummers, and forty-nine rank and file made prisoners by the Americans. The remainder of the regiment was posted on Verplanck's Point, and remained at King's Ferry until it returned to New York in September 1779.

In December 1780 Robinson's regiment accompanied Arnold on his expedition to Virginia, and returned to New York with the renegade

LOYAL AMERICAN REGIMENT, Private in summer field dress, *c.* 1779: Uniform: scarlet (1778). Lapels to waist. Small round cuffs. Facings: buff. No lace. Buttons: officers silver, other ranks pewter. Breeches, waistcoat, linings, belt, and stockings buff. Short black half-gaiters (summer dress). Black leather stock. Hair not powdered. The soldier is shown with a camp axe at his side.—A. R. Cattley.

VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, Private in summer field dress, *c.* 1779: Uniform: scarlet for officers (from 1778), brick-red other ranks. Lapels to waist. Small round cuffs. Facings: green. No lace. Buttons: officers silver, other ranks pewter. Breeches, waistcoat, linings, and stockings white, also white cockade. Short black half-gaiters (summer field dress). Velvet stock (officers). Black leather stock (other ranks). Hair not powdered. The soldier is shown with a camp axe.—A. R. Cattley.

traitor in June 1781. The following September it accompanied Arnold on his New London raid. During the remainder of the war it engaged in routine garrison duty at various posts within the New York lines, much of it in a cantonment at the head of Flushing Vly on Long Island. Colonel Robinson sailed for England in June 1783, and at the evacuation of New York at the close of the war the Loyal American Regiment sailed to Nova Scotia, where many of the men settled along the St. John River.

REFERENCES: R. J. Koke collection of British regimental data.

THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND

The 2d American Regiment

The 105th Regiment of Foot

The inception of the loyalist corps known as the Volunteers of Ireland dates from March 1778, when Lord George Germain instructed the British Commander-in-Chief in North America to attempt all possible means to entice from the Continental Army the Europeans who, in British opinion, constituted the majority of its force. In furtherance of this project, and hoping to promote wholesale desertions of Irish-born American soldiers, Sir Henry Clinton proposed to raise a regiment entirely of Irishmen. This regiment Clinton placed under command of Francis Lord Rawdon, Captain in the 63d Regiment, a favorite officer who had served in the Battles of Bunker Hill, Long Island, White Plains, Fort Washington, and Fort Clinton. Clinton asserted that Rawdon was an Irish nobleman who would spare neither zeal nor expense for the regiment and therefore was "the Person of that Nation in this Army whose Situation pointed him out the most strongly for the Command."

Clinton's order creating the regiment was dated from Headquarters in Philadelphia on May 25, 1778, but recruiting had already started in New York earlier that month. It was whispered in high Army circles, however, that Rawdon's interest in organizing the corps was whetted by a desire to obtain the higher rank of Colonel, even though it would be of temporary provincial rank, as a step towards securing appointment as Adjutant-General of the British Army in North America. Events worked strongly in his favor: On May 30th he was appointed an aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief, and in orders of June 19th was given the coveted post of Adjutant-General with rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army to date from June 15th.

"Great pains" were taken to spread news of the new corps among the Americans and, by October 1778, according to Clinton himself, over 380 deserters had been recruited, while others were enlisted from felons in prison. In June 1778 the embryonic corps moved with the army across New Jersey to New York, and served there and in New Jersey, and in May 1779 was one of the regiments sent by sea on a raiding ex-

VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, Private in winter dress, *c.* 1779: Uniform: scarlet for officers (from 1778), brick-red other ranks. Lapels to waist. Small round cuffs. Facings: green. No lace. Buttons: silver for officers, other ranks pewter. Breeches, waistcoat, linings, and stockings white, also white cockade. Long black gaiters (winter dress). Velvet stock (officers). Black leather stock (other ranks). Hair not powdered.—A. R. Cattley.

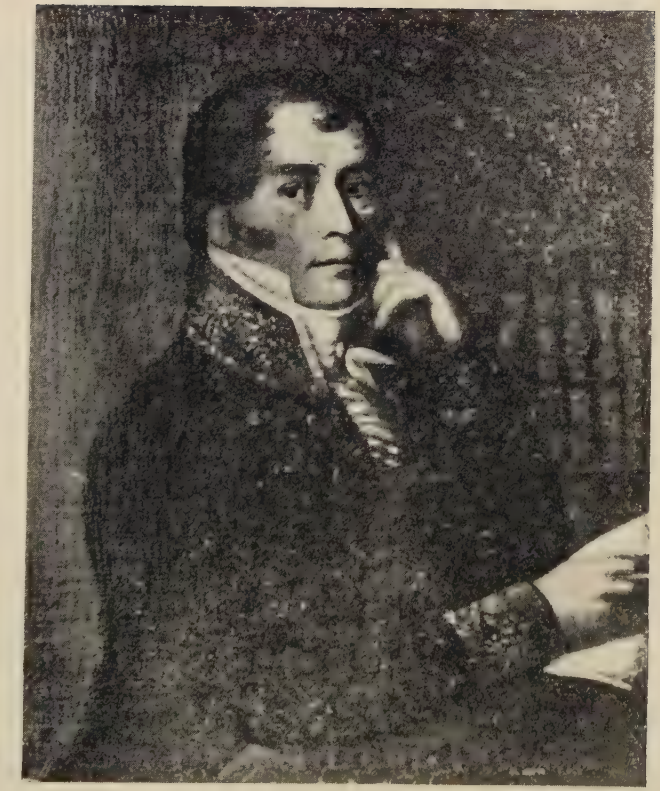
pedition to Portsmouth on the Virginia coast. It arrived back at New York by the end of May in time to participate in the British thrust up the Hudson against the King's Ferry posts, and when Wayne attacked in July one sergeant of the corps—the only regimental casualty—was taken prisoner by the Americans at Stony Point.

During the remainder of the year the Volunteers of Ireland were posted at various camps within the New York defenses, during which time some of the men gained not too enviable a reputation as highway robbers. In April 1780 the regiment was dispatched to reinforce the British army besieging Charleston, and thereafter saw much active service in the South, including the Battles of Camden and Hobkirk's Hill. Rawdon was a stern martinet: his severity is apparent in his offer of ten guineas reward for the head of any deserter from his regiment, but only five if brought in alive. He served with ability in the South, much of it on independent command, but after Hobkirk's Hill he withdrew to Charleston and in the summer of 1781 left America because of ill health. He was captured by the French on his return to Europe, but was soon exchanged. The Volunteers of Ireland, however, continued in service in the South, and in March 1782 were engaged in a raid on the Santee from Charleston.

Since 1778 efforts had been persistent to establish the regiment as a regular regiment of the line but, despite Sir Henry Clinton's encouragement, were for some time futile. In consequence of an order of May 2, 1779, to make rank in some of the provincial regiments permanent in America, the Volunteers of Ireland were recommended for placement on the proposed American Establishment as the 2d American Regiment. However, its actual designation as such appears not to have taken place until 1782. In that year the regiment was also accepted in the Army as the 105th Regiment of Foot. It was called the King's Irish Regiment, with Rawdon's rank of Lieutenant-Colonel commandant dating from March 21, 1782.

Rawdon's own fortunes also rose. In November 1782 he received the rank of Colonel in the Army and was appointed aide-de-camp to the King, and in March 1783 was created an English peer by style of Baron Rawdon. His regiment was the second which bore designation of the 105th: a prior corps having been raised in Perthshire in 1761 by Colonel David Graeme, who that year was one of the suite attending Queen Charlotte on her bridal journey to England. Graeme's corps was also known as the Queen's Own Royal Regiment of Highlanders, but was disbanded at the reductions in 1763. Rawdon's regiment was likewise disbanded at the peace of 1783.

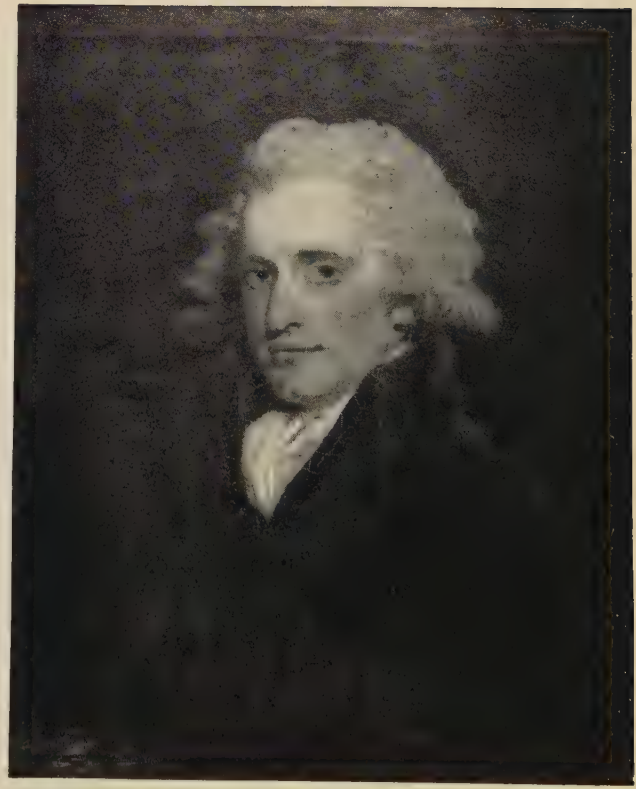
REFERENCES: H. M. Chichester and G. Burges-Short, *The Records and Badges of Every Regiment and Corps in the British Army* (2d ed.; London: n.d.), 638; *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, XIV (1935), 220; R. J. Koke collection of British regimental data.



JULIAN URSYN NIEMCEWICZ (1758–1841)

As Secretary of the Polish Senate, 1808

From Krausbar's Okruchy Przeszłości *(Warsaw: 1913)*



GEORGE RICHARD, 3D VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE

Portrait by John Hoppner (1758–1810)

Owned by Vernon Henry, present Viscount Bolingbroke

JOURNEY TO NIAGARA, 1805

FROM THE DIARY OF JULIAN URSYN NIEMCEWICZ

Translated from the original manuscript with an Introduction and Notes

by METCHIE J. E. BUDKA

IN 1805 Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Polish poet and patriot, wrote this day-by-day account of his journey from Elizabeth, New Jersey, to Niagara Falls. Niemcewicz, who spoke English fluently, travelled with friends, Lord Bolingbroke and his wife. Their journey, mostly by carriage but sometimes by wagon, took about twenty days. This vivid and entertaining account of it provides a unique view of America a century and a half ago by a perceptive and well-travelled observer who was also a talented writer.

The original manuscript, written by Niemcewicz in French, is now in the manuscript collection of the National Library in the Krasiński Palace in Warsaw. Niemcewicz took the manuscript with him to Poland in 1807, since when it has been lost and discovered, lost again and re-discovered several times. That it should have survived the wholesale destruction of books and manuscripts during the years 1939 to 1944 is an extraordinary and happy circumstance.

Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1758–1841) was born in Poland, the son of a member of the Polish gentry. He was educated under the patronage of Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, in whose household he lived as a young man. He had already distinguished himself as poet, playwright, and politician[1] when, in 1794, he joined General Thaddeus Kościuszko, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish army, as aide-de-camp in the rebellion against Russia. With Kościuszko Niemcewicz was captured at the Battle of Maciejowice and imprisoned at St. Petersburg until the death of Catherine II. Following their release by Paul I in 1796, Kościuszko chose to return to America where he had won fame as a General in the Revolutionary War. Niemcewicz decided to accompany him as his aide.

Kościuszko had fought in America, as he had fought in Poland, because

[1] Niemcewicz was a member of the Four Year Diet (1788–1792) which wrote the famous Constitution of the 3d of May, 1791. His literary works include the best Polish play of the 18th century, *The Envoy's Return* (1790), the novel *John from Tęczyn* (1825), and *Historical Ballads* (1816–19), as well as many other translations and original works in verse and prose.

of his fervent belief in independence and freedom. Niemcewicz shared these beliefs. He was an ardent admirer of the staunch will to independence which had provoked, and the effort and courage which had won, the Revolution. Niemcewicz came with eager sympathy for the American people and therefore recorded his impressions and experiences with understanding.

The General and his 39-year-old aide arrived in Philadelphia in 1797. The following year, Kościuszko, who had intended to settle in America, left suddenly and in secrecy for France. Niemcewicz, though wishing to return with him, stayed behind at Kościuszko's bidding in order to confuse Kościuszko's enemies regarding his whereabouts. From 1797 until 1807 Niemcewicz lived in America—a stay interrupted only once when he returned for two years to Poland in 1802 following the death of his father.

Before his imprisonment Niemcewicz had travelled extensively in Europe. During most of his life he kept diaries, some of which he used as the basis for published accounts of his travels and experiences. From the moment of his landing in America he kept a record of his life here. In 1800 he married Mrs. Susan Livingston Kean[2]*; they lived in Elizabeth, New Jersey. He was the friend and confidant of many distinguished Americans; one of his closest friends was Thomas Jefferson. His diaries provide important source material for the American social historian.*

Niemcewicz kept his diaries in small notebooks. Twelve such notebooks written by Niemcewicz in America are extant in the Krasiński collection of the National Library of Poland. They are presently bound together in a hard cover under the title, Rękopisma Własnoręczne. Podróże po Ameryce i Kazanie [*Manuscripts written in his own hand. Travels through America and Sermons*]*; the initials J. U. N. are printed on the spine.*[3] *The first seven of these notebooks form part of Niemcewicz's diary and cover the period August 29, 1797, to November 8,*

[2] Susan Livingston Kean (1759?–1833), daughter of Peter Van Brugh Livingston and Mary, née Alexander.—Florence Van Rensselaer, *The Livingston Family in America* (New York: 1949), 85, 95. She was the widow of John Kean, whom she had married in 1786. John Kean (1756?–1795) was originally from South Carolina, delegate to the Continental Congress, 1785–87, and Cashier of the first Bank of the United States in Philadelphia.—George Lockhart Rives, *Genealogical Notes* (New York: 1914), 73–74.

[3] These notebooks, still bearing their identification symbol BOZ 918 signifying their former presence in the Zamoyski Library ruined in World War II, were deposited in the National Library after the end of the war. The first seven notebooks in the cover are numbered consecutively II to VIII; the enumeration appears to be Niemcewicz's (the earliest notebook, numbered I, is missing). The notebooks are $6\frac{3}{8}$" by $7\frac{15}{16}$" in size, with one exception which is $5\frac{3}{4}$" by $7\frac{1}{4}$". They all hold about 25 sheets and two of them have the printer's name inscribed, R. and W. Dean and Co., Manchester, and W. G. Jones, London. The cover of each notebook carries an illustration in color of such subjects as Jungle Beasts, The Four Seasons, etc.

1799, although without complete day-to-day continuity. The eighth notebook, also part of his diary, contains the account of his journey to Niagara in 1805 which is translated in full here. The remaining four notebooks are not diaries but manuscript translations of the sermons of the Scottish divine Hugh Blair, records of songs, expense accounts, recipes, etc. The last page of the last notebook bears the notation in Niemcewicz's hand: "Elizabeth Town February 13, 1807."

The ink in these American notebooks has faded badly in some places and the handwriting is sometimes difficult to read. Although I have examined the manuscript on several occasions, microfilm copies were used in preparing a complete transcription, which was then checked against the manuscript itself for certain of the passages requiring annotation. This transcription of all of the twelve manuscript notebooks will soon be published elsewhere in their original French and Polish. That portion relating to the journey to Niagara in 1805 has been translated for publication in this Quarterly. *I have italicized all words which Niemcewicz wrote in English.*

Niemcewicz spent the last ten years of his life in France. During this time he wrote his memoirs, posthumously published. Part III of those memoirs covers the period 1796 to 1829. In his manuscript[4] *Niemcewicz laments that all the notebooks and manuscripts of his trip to America are somewhere in Poland and unavailable to him. Thus, the published account*[5] *of Niemcewicz's stay in America was written simply from his remembrances of events thirty years earlier.*

A brief account of the material published after the death of Niemcewicz and based directly on his original manuscripts will provide some pertinent historical commentary on the diaries. In 1873 there appeared in Przegląd Lwowski [*Lwów Review*] *and article entitled, "Pamiętniki Juliana Ursyna Niemcewicza (Dziennik Drugiej Podróży do Ameryki) 1804–1807" [Memoirs of Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Diary of the Second Journey to America].*[6] *The author of this article has not been identified and there is no introduction of any kind. The publication reads as though it were a direct transcription or translation of a manuscript. In spite of the title, less than twenty percent of the 112 printed octavo pages are*

[4] Now in the Polish Library in Paris. Niemcewicz's Paris manuscript of his memoirs is in three parts. Parts I and II cover his life prior to 1796.

[5] Two versions of Part III of the Paris manuscript have been published. The first, entitled *Pamietniki Czasów Moich* [Memoirs of My Times], appeared in Paris in 1848 together with Parts I and II in a single volume. This was edited by Karol Niemcewicz, a nephew. Recently Jan Dihm prepared an edition of Niemcewicz's memoirs under the same title. This was published in Warsaw in 1957, in two volumes. Parts I and II of this edition are based on an earlier manuscript covering the period before 1796 written by Niemcewicz in Poland and now found in the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow. Part III of the Dihm edition is an expanded and more carefully edited version of the Paris manuscript.

concerned with Niemcewicz's American travels. The greatest part tells of his tour of Europe in 1802–1804. If this article is indeed a direct transcription or translation of a part of Niemcewicz's manuscript diary or of a manuscript draft of his memoirs it is of dual importance. In the first place this manuscript is now lost and the Lwów publication is the only source material for this period. Secondly, and of greater interest here, in this account Niemcewicz writes: "In October 1805 Lord and Lady Bolingbroke invited me to go with them to Canada to see the Niagara Falls.... We left October fifth. The diary of my trip to Niagara is written in a separate notebook and I will not repeat it here."[7] *Thus while the Lwów publication does not include the Niagara notebook material it provides clear reference to its existence.*

In 1902 there appeared in The Century Magazine[8] *an article entitled, "A Visit to Mt. Vernon a Century Ago." It was written by W. M. Kozłowski with an introduction by Worthington C. Ford and was subtitled, "A few pages from an unpublished diary of the Polish Poet J. U. Niemcewicz." In his introduction Kozłowski writes, "It [Niemcewicz's diary] was never published and his biographer considered it as lost. Happily it was not so. The author of these lines succeeded, after painful researches, in finding the manuscript in one of the libraries of Poland." The extract published by* The Century Magazine *was a translation from the French of the third notebook in the present Krasiński collection. Kozłowski does not state in which library he had found the manuscript. In 1906 Kozłowski published*[9] *a second translation into Polish of a part of Niemcewicz's diary. This extract is from the second notebook in the Krasiński collection and describes the departure of Kościuszko from America. In 1917 Kozłowski published a third translation from Niemcewicz's diary in* Bluszcz.[10] *This is a Polish translation of a small part of the whole account of the journey to Niagara from the eighth notebook in the Krasiński collection. A Polish translation of the first eight manuscript notebooks now extant, together with reprints of previously published material, has recently been published in Poland.*[11]

In 1956 I went to Warsaw to search for unpublished manuscript material relating to Niemcewicz's life in America. I am most happy to express my thanks to the Polish scholar, Mr. Wacław Zawadzki, who first told me of the existence of the Niemcewicz manuscripts translated in part here.

[6] *Przegląd Lwowski* [Lwów Review], V (1873), 64, 121, 194, 290, 448, 585, 674, 806; VI, 9, 152, 247, 409, 483, 555.

[7] *Ibid.*, VI, 483, in free translation from the Polish.

[8] *The Century Magazine*, LXIII, Feb. 1902, 510–22.

[9] *Bibljoteka Warszawska* [Warsaw Library], IV (1906), No. 2, 241–84.

[10] "Niemcewicz u Niagary" [Niemcewicz at Niagara], *Bluszcz*, 1917, No. 28, 29.

[11] A. Wellman-Zaleska, *J. U. Niemcewicz, Podróże po Ameryce 1797–1807* [Travels through America] (Wrocław and Warsaw: 1959).

Metchie J. E. Budka

EVER SINCE coming to America, I have wished most ardently to see the famous Niagara Falls. Eight years have passed by and various impediments have always thwarted my plan. At last I am compensated for this long delay by the splendid opportunity that now presents itself, this being a journey to the same region by my neighbors M. and Mme. B.[1] They suggested that I join them. Their company made me forget both the difficulties and the hardships and even the lateness of the season almost as far advanced as my age. I accepted. In half an hour my small portmanteau was packed and all the preparations for the journey were finished!

We left at half past four the fifth of October 1805, with a fine carriage, two good horses, a reliable servant, and a good hunting dog. We passed through Newark, a small town, where there is much activity and trade, which from day to day promises to be more flourishing. After that one skirts the Passaic River, bordered on both sides by houses which bespeak affluence. At Acquackanonck[2] one crosses the river by a wooden bridge and instead of a cheerful view one sees a dry, rocky, somber land, whole fields covered with Gnaphalium (mouse's ear) which gave off a strong odor.[3] This plant is always the sign of bad soil. We stopped at the house of a farmer of Dutch descent. The delapidated house of massive stones indicated an old settlement. Everything was neat and clean. While our horses ate their hay, we were served a dinner which would have tempted St. John in the Wilderness; we had honey in the comb and, instead of grasshoppers, bread and fresh butter. The Paterson [Passaic] Falls are not far from here. The farmer told us that the land was exhausted, as so must have been the lands of ancient Europe. We continued our route skirting always the Passaic River, its waters wide and clear, its banks lined with huge chestnuts, oaks, and *hemlocks* and the horizon cut off by a chain of mountains which blended their grayish peaks with the blue of the sky—all spreading out before our eyes picturesque land-

[1] M. and Mme. Belassis, neighbors of Niemcewicz in Elizabeth, N. J. Belassis was the pseudonym used, during their ten years in America, by George Richard, 3d Viscount Bolingbroke and 4th Viscount St. John (1761–1824), and Isabelle Charlotte Antoinette Sophia, Baroness Hompesch (d. 1848), niece of the last Grand Master of Malta. They married in 1804 after the death of Bolingbroke's first wife in 1803 and returned to England in 1806.—*Burke's Peerage* (101st ed.; 1956); "Pamiętniki Juliana Ursyna Niemcewicza (Dziennik Drugiej Podróży do Ameryki) 1804–1807" [Memoirs of Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Diary of the Second Journey to America].—*Przegląd Lwowski* [Lwów Review], VI (1873), 484.

[2] The name for the present site of Passaic, N. J., in use until the middle of the 19th century.—*Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XX, 886.

[3] Probably Gnaphalium obtusifolium L. or G. polycephalum Michx. (cudweed, fragrant, life everlasting), although only G. uliginosum L. (marsh cudweed) found on low ground is known as mouse's ear.—A. Brown, *An Illustrated Flora of the Northern U. S., Canada and the British Possessions* (2d ed.; New York: 1947), III, 454–55; see also P. Kalm's description of a similar plant, *Travels into North America*, J. R. Forster, tr. (Warrington: 1770), I, 130–31.

scapes and cheerful scenes. We arrived at Captain Hop[p]er's.[4] His inn, scorning a nearby hill from which there is a charming view with a waterfall, stands in a damp and gloomy hollow. The meal was, however, very satisfying and the bed very comfortable.

Sunday, the 6th. We continued our way by a rather bad road leading through mountainous country. The fields however were well cultivated, and seen from across the heaps of stones the rye appeared quite good. We found ourselves stopped often by wagons filled with men, women, and children going to church. All were well dressed. We even met some women dressed in silks. There were commodious farmhouses solidly built for the most part in the Dutch style. The [Ramapo][5] river winds across this country; to the right and to the left there are jagged and fissured rocks. The rocks are of granite impregnated with talc and mica. I saw two iron forges. One finds in these mountains bears, deer, grouse, and pheasants and, what is worst of all, rattlesnakes. They are beginning to disappear, however, for as soon as the *Ash* drops its leaves these snakes disappear, either because the leaves are poisonous to them or because they cannot stand the cold which caused this fall.[6]

Leaving a pass through these mountains, which are but a branch of the large Allegheny chain, we came into the broad expanse of a great valley. To the right were meadows, to the left fields of hemp. This is as yet a new crop, but it is visibly flourishing and can only become a source of wealth for this country. Already Orange County alone grows 150 tons of it. A ton sells at times for over 300 dollars, never less than 200.[7]

We had good lodging at Chester. The hostess was good-natured and cheerful. On entering their parlor I found there six young men, well

[4] This is probably Captain John Hopper (1761–1819).—William S. Stryker, *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War* (Trenton, N. J.: 1872), 35, 105, 395; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution* (new ed.; Washington: 1914), 300. His inn is identified as standing then in what is now Ho-Ho-Kus, N. J.—Rosalie Fellows Bailey, *Pre-Revolutionary Dutch Houses and Families* (New York: 1936), Pt. II, 299; Sue F. Hudson, *Background of Ho-Ho-Kus History* (Ho-Ho-Kus, N. J.: 1953), 26, 29–32.

[5] In the original manuscript the space occupied by the word *Ramapo* was left blank by Niemcewicz and the word written in, in pencil, in handwriting obviously not his. The geography of the region indicates that the Ramapo is correct.

[6] The folklore on rattlesnakes and ash leaves has been current since first mentioned by Pliny the Elder, Gaius Plinius Secundus (23–79 A. D.).—Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, J. Bostock and H. T. Riley, tr. (London: 1855–57), III, 366; L. M. Klauber, *Rattlesnakes, Their Habits, Life Histories and Influence on Mankind* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956), II, 1231.

[7] Profits of fifteen to twenty dollars an acre from the raising of hemp on the "sunken swamps and bog-meadows" of Orange County, under cultivation for twenty years, are referred to by William Thompson, "Letter on the Cultivation of Hemp, Goshen, Nov. 30, 1803," *Transactions of the Society for the Promotion of Useful Arts in the State of New York* (Albany: 1807), II, 121, 125. See also for lack of success and difficulties of cultivation, E. L. Lord, "Industrial Experiments in the British Colonies of N. A.," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Hist. and Pol. Sci.*, Ex. Vol. XVII (1898), 84.

CAPTAIN HOPPER'S INN

"Hopper-Zabriskie-Tolles House" drawn by Rosa A. Livingston

From: Sue F. Hudson, Background of Ho-Ho-Kus History *(Hoboken: 1953)*

dressed and of fine stature. I supposed them to be a gathering of all the young people of the village. The hostess disabused me, telling me that all these men were her sons. Here is a woman who deserves well of her country, furnishing it so abundantly with the commodity most needed in a new land. It froze this night to the point of killing the *potato* vines. The ice was the thickness of a silver dollar. Only fifteen days ago we were dying of the heat; this is a ridiculous climate. The next morning we saw all the gentlemen of the town preparing to go fox hunting—they had about ten hounds. It is not certain that they will take the fox, but it is certain that they will get drunk.

7th of October. We continued our route through Goshen, situated in a fertile plain. Montgomery and Springtown[8] are watered by the Esopus[9] river which is lined by a special type of oak called river oak.[10] We rolled

[8] Springtown, now a hamlet of New Paltz.—J. H. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York* (Syracuse: 1860), 665; David H. Burr, *An Atlas of the State of New York containing a Map of the State and of Several Counties* (New York: 1829).

[9] Sopos in original manuscript. An early local spelling of Esopus. The geography is in error. The Walkill River flows through this region.

[10] There is no known river oak designation but this species is probably the swamp white oak, Quercus bicolor Willd., recognized by F. A. Michaux and others as specially abundant in northern New Jersey near New York.—F. A. Michaux, *Histoire des Arbres Forestiers de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris: 1810–13), II, 46; A. Gray, *Manual of Botany* (New York: 1889), 476; A. H. Graves, *Illustrated Guide to Trees and Shrubs* (Wallingford, Conn.: 1952), 81–82.

through woods of chestnuts, oaks, etc., along a smooth and even road with the peaks of the same chain of mountains on both sides. We met a procession of about thirty wagons filled with men and women who were going six miles or more in them to an interment. Thus a lot of time and labor is lost with the principal actor the least of all aware of the proceedings. But, while partly a religious duty, it is much more an Event, a holiday even, if you prefer, which brings them together for gossip and drinking and thus breaks the uniform monotony of the ordinary day.

We slept in an inn completely isolated in the middle of a big forest. We certainly did not expect to find there one of the most attractive women one could hope to see. She was Mme. Delametre,[11] innkeeper in these parts: with youthful candor, perfect features, magnificent complexion, unconscious grace, enough animation to be lively, yet with a certain hesitation in response which adds a veil of mystery to her beauty and quickens one's interest. She and her husband, a polite and well built young man, hurried to make our lodgings as pleasant as possible. Mme. Delametre, carrying a child whom she was weaning[12] on one arm, with the other opened the cabinet, drew out the linen, carried the cream, the preserves, etc. In Europe, when I was younger and more gallant, I could not have borne to see her take so much trouble; I would have perhaps asked her to marry me, but this is not the custom of the country!

October 8. We regretfully discovered that our baggage[13] and the carriage had quarreled, and the back of the carriage was all battered from this affair. This put us out of temper and made us lose much time. We tore ourselves away from Mme. Delametre.

Land, even though hardly cleared, sells at the rate of 15, 20 and 25 dollars. Without ever being manured it produces excellent rye and above all clover. Further on the boulders reappear with their enormous crevasses, blocks torn off and thrown here and there in frightful confusion, evidence of a violent upheaval. Sometimes they are carved in perpendicular walls and appear in the perfect likeness of the curtains and flanks of a bastion with their banquettes. At other times they border the highway like very regular, high ramparts. The firs, the yews, the larches become more common as we proceed towards the north.

[11] Benjamin S. Delameter, born in 1783, and Rachel Snyder, born in 1788, were married Jan. 29, 1805, in the Old Dutch Church of Kingston.—Roswell Randall Hoes, ed., *Baptismal and Marriage Registers of the Old Dutch Church of Kingston* (New York: 1891), 678; Lafayette Delamater, *Descendants of Claude Le Maitre, 1652* (Albany: 1882), appendix, 192.

[12] Although Niemcewicz here used the French word *sevrer*, to wean, it seems probable from the context and from the fact that the child, Helena, was only two weeks old, having been born Sept. 22, 1805 (*ibid.*, 485), that he should have used the verb to suckle.

[13] In the original manuscript Niemcewicz appears to be using the word "mail" in its, now obsolete, English meaning of traveling bag, as otherwise the meaning of the French is obscure.

Kingston is rather a large town, containing many fine houses and many ruins. One reads on the Town Hall, "*This town has been burnt by British cruelty.*"[14] This inscription may have its merit as a political sentiment, but in the moral sense, to perpetuate so ostentatiously the animosity and hate between nations, is neither humane nor Christian.

At some distance from there we met a pretty, young girl on horseback. She was the rear guard of a caravan composed of five big covered wagons drawn by oxen and horses. Many cows walked at the side. The wagons were loaded with chests filled apparently with hatchets, saws, etc., and with a large quantity of featherbeds, and with an even greater number of children heaped topsy-turvy on the beds. It was a colony coming from New England[15] to settle in the open country along the shores of the lakes. It was a nursery of MEN who were going to plant themselves in regions which have never seen any kind of human habitation. To venture such a settlement, so fraught with hardship, one must have both strength of mind and youthful vigor. Such was, however, the origin of all these American States which today we see so well cultivated and flourishing. Such was formerly the origin of all empires. The family arrives in the midst of gloomy and silent forests. Immediately they cut some trees and construct a log house. They clear the land as soon as possible. They harrow or rather they scratch at the soil and they seed it with wheat or other grain. Provisions of salt meat, *spirits*, fish and game sustain the family until the first harvest, which is always very abundant. Men and women work without rest to clear their land and to improve their cabin. The swine and fowl visibly multiply. In about three years the land is already under cultivation. The forests give way to the axe and to the plow. The *log house* is transformed into a *frame house*. Neighbors arrive from all sides. It is at first a small village, then a town, then a city. Without oppressive laws, without hindrance by the government, without taxes, without compulsory military service, man left to his own devices prospers better than when so-called benevolent governments meddle with his affairs.

We arrived in Catskill by a good road; it is an important town situated at the confluence of the river of the same name and of the Hudson. We got out at the City Hotel, where we found much pretension, but the food and the service were wretched. Five or six bespectacled jades both white and black ran about like lunatics, without their galloping about and their clamor producing anything worthwhile. The innkeeper went out at nine o'clock in the evening to search for provisions in the market, and therefore these were all tough and bad. The windows which had been completely broken since the celebration of the Fourth of July were not yet repaired. Others with panes missing were stuffed with the dirty

[14] October 16, 1777.

[15] For an account of such an immigration see D. M. Ellis, "The Yankee Invasion of New York, 1783–1850," *New York History*, XXXII (1951), 3–17.

petticoats of the Negresses or with old hats. The bill was exorbitant. If the inn is bad, the small town, thanks to its situation, is full of commercial activity, with many *sloops* in the port, some saw mills, and a quantity of planks and *shingles* ready to be exported.

The 9th. We left Catskill in the morning. At Coxsackie we found the militia drawn up for drill just at the moment of loading rifles. Our carriage passed; immediately the whole battalion forgetting its commander and the maneuver turned to look at us. This idle curiosity would scandalize a Prussian officer. But let me tell the Herren Hauptmann that this battalion is not composed of those torn by violence from their family and their plow, paid five cents a day, beaten twenty times a day with blows from a cane, but these are free men who are gathered together in accordance with the law that they have made for themselves. However inferior they may perhaps be to regular troops drawn up in battle, they lack in case of need neither courage nor perseverance to defend their homes to the last drop of their blood.

We arrived at Coeymans[16] at two o'clock in the afternoon and, as the countryside promised abundant game which M. B. ardently craved, we stopped there. The appearances were not misleading. In less than two hours M. B. brought down three pheasants, seven quails, and a woodcock, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants and perhaps even of the feathered tribe, neither the one nor the other having ever seen shooting on the wing and above all such good shooting.

There remained sixteen miles to Albany which we reached in the middle of a rainstorm and by the worst possible road. On our route from New Jersey we have seen only three or four *turnpikes* or highways. But here, instead of following the mail routes, as they so obviously do in Europe, they cut right into the interior of the provinces, towards the lands whence come the produce and the principal commodities. One must assert that the interests of private individuals are also involved. Those who have large acreage in the *back countries* try to obtain charters for these highways which give that much more value to their properties and thus attract a larger number of colonists.

October 10th. We arrived in Albany, a town already large and well populated, which is situated at the confluence of the Mohawk and the Hudson. Placed as it is 170 miles in the interior it does not have a maritime trade, but it is the commercial center for all the merchandise which comes there from an immense expanse of country, as much by the boats of the Mohawk as by wagons from the Genesee and other regions. We stayed at the Tontine Coffee House,[17] an inn setting a good table but with

[16] Coeymans: written Queens in the French original, the error presumably arose from the similarity in pronunciation.—J. H. French, *op. cit.*, 163.

[17] Tontine Coffee House: principal hotel in the city, situated on State Street, founded in 1795.—Howell and Tenney, eds., *History of the County of Albany, N. Y. from 1609–1886* (New York: 1886), 651.

STATE STREET, ALBANY, 1805 (TONTINE COFFEE HOUSE NEAR CHURCH)

Lithograph by R. H. Pease from drawing by James Eights

The New-York Historical Society

bad service and the house scarcely clean. We found there fourteen people eating at the common table, a great advantage for the traveler, who in a short time can thereby acquire information on the locale which he would not otherwise be able to obtain. These gentlemen were polite without affectation, communicative without garrulity. They had that appearance of ease that one finds in Europe only in the upper classes. Here, it is the fruit of a liberty which they enjoy from infancy and of that spirit of independence which produces hard work and industry; architects of their own fortune they owe nothing to anyone; they believe themselves equal to everybody. The advice that they gave us on our journey to Niagara was in some respects comforting, in others disquieting. From the manner in which we go, the greatest marvel will not be the falls themselves but that we arrive there at all. I have been to see Mme. Belle, a friend of my wife who spent some time in our house five years ago. A woman of such wit, fine judgment, and learning is most uncommon in this country. I bought a map of New York by de Witt.[18]

[18] This was either the *Map of the State of New York,* published in Albany, Oct. 16, 1802, by Simeon de Witt, Surveyor General of New York, showing the State as far west as the "pre-emption line," with an insert ½ scale showing the continuation of the whole State, or a contracted version showing the whole State published at New York in 1804. The latter is reproduced, pp. 88–89, showing Niemcewicz's route.

[*October 11th:*] I was awakened the 11th at daybreak by a violent storm and the roll of thunder. The sky cleared toward ten o'clock and we left in very hot weather for the season. The road from Albany to Schenectady, which on my first trip seven years ago was a sea of sand, is now a highway and furthermore a highway extending up to Geneva, 200 miles from Albany. The road is straight as an arrow, lined on both sides with woods of spruce. There are few farms but many inns and loaded wagons coming and going –

Schenectady, as old as Albany and built by the Dutch, is the end of the run for the boats coming down the Mohawk. The Cohoes Falls prevent further navigation. There is talk of a canal which is going to remove this obstacle. The shallowness of the river allows navigation only in the spring and then rarely for boats carrying more than 150 bushels. During the rest of the year everything goes on wheels. This river, as do almost all in this country, yields few fish. The eel is most common; there are a few perch and pike. We crossed the Mohawk River by ferry. The rain had washed out the highway which appeared to me to have been built in haste and poorly designed. The countryside on this bank took on a different aspect; instead of clayey and sandy soil with spruce, one sees black soil with oaks.

We made only seven miles and slept at the house of Verder[19] in the middle of woods. A gradual slope leads to the river. The opposite bank is crested by a ridge of high mountains covered with gloomy forests. Our hosts, the good Dutch, certainly do not recognize how romantic this situation is. Men and women here appear to be tall and strong. Our hostess, nearly sixty years old, came to sit by the fireplace and entertained us with tales of the good old times, when the huts of the Indians were only two steps away and Sir William Johnson, the English general, had his house[20] a few miles from here. She told how he used to entertain at dinner both whites and redskins; how he had taken as a wife or mistress a *Squaw* (Indian girl), dressed as a savage with large earrings and a ring in her nose; how by this marriage and by his perfect knowledge of the Indian language, his humanity and generosity, he had won for himself the love of all the tribes; how he had had educated the celebrated Brant,[21] chief of the Mohawk nation; how his death had been mourned by all the Indians who believed they had lost their father. Indeed this

[19] The name is more probably Vedder, a very common name in this district at this time. However, since the name Verder also occurs, though less frequently, we can not be certain. It is therefore not possible to locate the tavern exactly.–Jonathan Pearson, *Contributions for the Genealogies of the Descendants of the First Settlers of the Patent and City of Schenectady from 1662–1800* (Albany: 1873).

[20] Mount Johnson, now Fort Johnson, where Sir William Johnson lived from approximately 1743 to 1763 when he removed to Johnson Hall now in Johnstown, N. Y.–William Johnson, *Papers*, J. Sullivan, A. C. Flick and M. W. Hamilton, eds. (12 vols.: Albany: 1921–57), I, xvii-xviii.

[21] Joseph Brant (1742–1807), brother of Molly Brant, Sir William's Indian wife.

tribe did not long survive him; the advancing whites swept them toward the Six Nations[22] who in turn began to scatter and disappear.

As evidence of the fertility of the countryside along all the length of the Mohawk and of the wealth of the farmers, I may say that a few miles from here a farmer sowed 210 bushels of wheat in a plot of 140 acres and harvested 3,000 bushels from it; this, at 13 shillings, 6 cents the bushel, the actual price in Albany, gives him 5,055 dollars or piastres.[23] Despite the fact that this land has been farmed for fifty years, it is still so good that it has never been manured. They fertilize only the hillside lands. The excellence of the products bespeaks the excellence of the soil; the bread, the potatoes, the beef, and the mutton are infinitely better than in Jersey and, while at home we pay 6 and 8 cents for beef, one can get it here for 4½. Butter is one shilling. The countryside does not produce any peaches, but there are plums in abundance.

October 12th. The surface of the turnpikes is now more and more broken up. Our horses are very tired; it is only with difficulty that we make thirty miles, travelling all day. We continually skirt the Mohawk. There is nothing more cheerful, more picturesque than this countryside, the clearness of the water, its beautiful meadows, its islands, its fields, the whole framed by mountains now retreating, now approaching, enchanting the eye and bringing to the spirit that pleasure which such beauty and abundance inspires. The countryside, though rather well populated for America, could easily hold fifty times more inhabitants.

Although most of the time we plod along a muddy road in the middle of thick woods, the monotony is broken by the variety and multiplicity of all the hues, shades, and colors with which Autumn has adorned the trees, and by the vistas on the river which in many places are as beautiful, perhaps even more beautiful, than the Thames at Twickenham, Strawberry Hill,[24] etc. Amongst a large variety of oaks one notices the unfamiliar *Turkish oak*,[25] yews, cedars, *hemlock*, and white spruce with its long and silky needles.

[22] The Mohawks, however, were themselves one of the Six Nations.

[23] The piastre referred to here is the Spanish dollar. The New York shilling, actually the "real," was worth twelve and a half cents, one-eighth part of the Spanish dollar then in common use.—Neil Carothers, *Fractional Money: A History of the Small Coins and Fractional Paper Currency of the U.S.* (New York: 1930), 34, 82. For a table showing the value given to the shilling in various States at that time see François, duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage dans les Etats Unis (1795-1797)* (8 vols.; Paris: 1799), I, xviii.

[24] Twickenham, 12 miles from London, noted for its pleasant situation and the houses of famous people both royal and literary; Strawberry Hill, the residence of Horace Walpole, being one of the more interesting.

[25] Turkish oak may be Quercus cerris L., which is known as Turkey oak.—Graves, *Illust. Guide to Trees*, 83. Or it may be Q. stellata Wang., post oak (Q. obtulsiloba Michx.), which Michaux says is locally called Turkey oak because the sweet acorns attract this bird. He says, however, that this tree is not seen further north than the Palisades of the Hudson.—Michaux, *op. cit.*, II, 39.

We passed by Stone Arabia, a small town in the mountains. For three to four miles one sees some dwellings, most of them inns. All these are perhaps necessary because of the great number of wagoners who cart the products of the country such as flour and potash and bring from Albany European merchandise. For, particularly in the season when the roads are good, this means of transportation is no more costly than going by boat. We breakfasted at Pride's Tavern[26] and slept at Shepherd's.[27] His house, not yet completed, stands on rising ground overlooking the river. A bridge[28] with a single arch of buoyant grace, the river flowing by, a smiling and well-cultivated country—all offer the most picturesque views.

October 13th. Because of the bad state of the roads, and the continual exhaustion our horses have suffered for the last eight days, we had to hire two horses. We continued our route across the eternal woods. I was glad to see some lindens, but as with all other trees in this country they surpass ours in girth and above all in height. Many of these trees appear to me to be 125 feet high—and I do not exaggerate. Their roots do not reach very deeply into the ground and so they are easily blown over by the winds. They grow very rapidly but the wood is not so durable as that of European trees. Everything in this hemisphere goes at a grand gallop, men as well as vegetation, but equally then all decays and perishes more swiftly. Nothing is more beautiful than the shades of the autumnal colors of these trees. The vivid scarlet of the *soft maple*[29] and the yellow of the poplars, blending with the deep green of the *hemlocks*, yews, and larches, spread out a most lively pageant of color.

Before one reaches the *small falls*[30] there is a place on the left bank of the Mohawk where steep walls of red granite come down almost to the river's edge and completely cut off the trail so that, to open a way for the road, they had to blow up a part with cannon powder. To the left one can see a tremendous block torn loose which by its size and shape reminds me of the block in St. Petersburg on which stands the statue of Peter the Great. On close inspection of this chain of mountains, which

[26] Mr. Pride was licensed to keep a tavern in the Town of Caughnawaga and the tavern was located between Tribes Hill and Fonda.—J. R. Simms, *The Frontiersman of New York* (Albany: 1883), I, 362; Mr. Edward J. Sheehan, County Archivist, The Montgomery County Historical Society, Amsterdam, N.Y., kindly substantiated this information.

[27] A Josiah or Joseph Shepard kept a stage house at Canajoharie.—J. H. French, *op. cit.*, 345, n. 11; Nelson Greene, ed., *History of the Mohawk Valley* (Chicago: 1925), II, 1217.

[28] Palatine Bridge, present name of the community built at the site of the bridge erected in 1803 and attracting the attention of travelers.—T. Bigelow, *Journal of a Tour to Niagara Falls in the Year 1805* (Boston: 1876), 17; N. Greene, *op. cit.*, II, 1224; C. Robb de Graff, P. E., and Margaret de Graff, *Historical Map of Montgomery County*, 1952.

[29] Acer rubrum.

[30] That is, the Little Falls on the Mohawk River, at the town of Little Falls, N.Y.

the road has followed since Schenectady, I found it to be of granite, but here and there along its margins are beds of laminated sandstone and even of schist—proof that in remote epochs the sea was here. The mountains we crossed while skirting the right bank of the Hudson were all of sandstone or slate, filled in many places with prodigious quantities of talc or mica.

In the place called the Palatinate (for the most part the establishments here carry the name of the innkeeper-proprietor) we stopped at the Zabriski Inn.[31] This name, with its Polish termination recalling that of Zabrzyski, had for a long time excited my curiosity but, though it was very common in Pennsylvania, in New York, and above all in Jersey, only now have I met someone who bears it. He gave, however, only vague answers to all of my questions. He said that he had lost his father at an early age, that his uncle had taken possession of the family papers, that he had been told that his great-grandfather had come from Poland 103 years ago, and as all ancestry must according to the rules be fabulous and illustrious, he added that this great-grandfather was brother to King John Sobieski,[32] that he had brought with him much money and bought an immense stretch of land. I do not speak of his other stories, of the letters that his uncle had recently received from Poland of the huge inheritance, of the strong trunks that he had been directed to bring in order to hold all the gold to be given him. All these trifles completely frustrated the kinship, the pleasure I had expected, in finding again in the wilderness of the New World a compatriot who would show me some writings, tell me some interesting anecdotes of my unhappy country. There is no doubt, however, that the ancestor of this young man did come from Poland. He was probably some young Socinian or Calvinist studying in Holland (as I have seen in my own time in Haarlem) who, stirred by some spirit of adventure, embarked with other Dutch colonists then emigrating to New York and New Jersey, and settled there. This group has increased enormously. This young man has a pleasant face. He is married to a Dutch girl who washes and cleans his home and keeps it very neat. He has built a fine house and has an excellent farm and is certainly much happier here than he would be in his village in Poland under the thumb of the local hetman.[33]

[31] In the Census of 1800 Andrew Sobreski is listed as living in the Town of Palatine, Montgomery County, heading a family of four persons. Andrew Zabriskie served in the State Assembly, Jan. 25 to April 15, 1814, representing the County of Montgomery.—*Census of 1800, Montgomery County, N. Y.*, Reprint of Enterprise and News, St. Johnsville, N. Y., 1934; Legislative Library, Capitol, Albany 1, N. Y. For the origin and history of this name in America see *N. Y. Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XXIII (1892), 26; M. Haiman, *Poland and the American Revolutionary War* (Chicago: 1932), 60–61, 111.

[32] John III Sobieski, King of Poland (1674–96), famous for his Vienna victory (1683) against the Turks.

[33] *Capitaine de Cercle* in the French original seems to be an exact translation of the Polish word *ceklmistrz* or *cekmistrz*.—J. Karłowicz, A. Kryński, W. Niedź-

A Map of the STATE OF NEW YORK

By

SIMEON DE WITT

Surveyor General

Contracted from his large Map of the State

1804

KEY TO P

1. ELIZABE
2. NEWARK
3. ACQUACK
4. CAPT. H
5. SUFFERN
6. CHESTER
7. GOSHEN
8. MONTGOME
9. SPRINGTO
10. MME. DE
11. KINGSTON
12. CATSKILL
13. COXSACKI
14. COEYMANS
15. ALBANY
16. SCHENECT
17. VERDER'S
18. PRIDE'S
19. FONDA
20. CANAJOHA
21. PALATINE
22. LITTLE F

NIEMCEWICZ'S ROUTE
23. HERKIMER
24. UTICA
25. WESTMORELAND
26. ONEIDA VILLAGE
27. STANIFORD'S
28. SALT SPRINGS
29. ONONDAGA
30. SKANEATELES
31. CAYUGA BRIDGE
32. GENEVA
33. CANANDAIGUA
34. GEN. HALL'S INN
35. HARTFORD
36. BATAVIA
37. TONAWANDA RESERVATION
38. RANSOM'S
39. BUFFALO
40. FORT ERIE
41. CHIPPAWA
42. NIAGARA FALLS
43. QUEENSTON
44. NIAGARA-ON-THE-LAKE

Let us return to the journal.

Having gone beyond the big block of red granite, one comes upon a bridge and view of a part of the Little Falls, then to a small town from whence one can see the whole descent of the falls. The falls are created by a sloping wall of rubble which blocks the river. To correct the situation there they have built a canal[34] whose locks for sound strength, beauty of the stone, and workmanship yield nothing to the quays of Paris, and all this in the middle of woods! Opposite the falls and this canal there is a fine-looking house. We were told that it belonged to a Mr. Alexander.[35] This interested me because of the identity of the name with that of the family I love so well, but it is impossible that it should be the family of Mme. Williams;[36] she would certainly have arranged an introduction.

A few miles further one finds the fertile plain called the German Flats. It stretches out very far lengthwise but it is narrow. All that is level presents a picture of the greatest fertility and of fine cultivation. It is divided into large regular squares covered with corn, wheat, all sorts of grain and meadows, through which the river winds. On both sides houses and villages occur more frequently than I have seen up to now. All these are inhabited by that hard-working race, the Germans. The town of Herkimer, which is in the center of this valley so favored by fortune, is entirely populated by families come from Connecticut. There are about fifty houses, so white, so new, so spick and span that one might say they were finished this very day. We stayed at Mr. Snow's[37] who came from New London with about ten male and female cousins. The men and women had a pleasing mien, and the speech and manners which characterize all the people from that part of America, the first settled and the most enlightened. I have however a complaint against the pretty innkeeper. She gave us coffee this morning made, I suspect, from corn or

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wiedzki, *Dictionary of the Polish Language* [in Polish] (Warsaw: 1900; reprinted 1952), I, 259; also see under meaning *2* for word *kapitan*, II, 244.

[34] Canal, one mile long, with five locks, started in 1792 by the Western Inland Lock Navigation Co. and completed in the fall of 1795, was seen in that year by the duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt who said, "They have been working on it for three years and it is little advanced."—François, duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *op. cit.*, II, 279–80. It was admired by J. Maude who gave an incorrect reference to J. Morse's account of it.—J. Maude, *Visit to the Falls of Niagara in 1800* (London: 1826), 30; J. Morse, *The American Gazetteer* (Boston: 1797); article under Mohawk River, D. H. Burr, *op. cit.*, 17.

[35] William Alexander, native of Schenectady, came about 1790 to Little Falls and died Jan. 13, 1813.—J. H. French, *op. cit.*, 346, n. 6; G. A. Hardin and F. H. Willard, *History of Herkimer County* (Syracuse: 1893), 248, 250.

[36] Mme. Williams, wife of Jonathan Williams (1750–1815), née Mariamne Alexander.—Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (22 vols.; New York: 1928–44), XX, 280–82.

[37] Ephraim Snow came from Connecticut to Herkimer Village sometime before 1800. He lived and died there highly respected. He was sheriff for one year, having been appointed March 6, 1806.—G. A. Hardin and F. H. Willard, *op. cit.*, 154, 221.

from the seeds of Palma Christi. They grow whole fields of this here under the name of Coffee Bean.[38]

October 14th. This happy valley continues further, but it ceases where the land rises and the trees take over their domain: and all for want of labor. It is true that in many places steel and fire have already waged mortal combat with these ancient forests. Without doubt the trees must go in order to have cultivated ground but, in getting rid of them one should recover some profit from them. But here it is a sorry sight, to see for mile after mile these enormous skeletons, these gigantic cadavers, shorn of their bark and half-burnt lying about wasted. I have seen railings made of enormous trees which could have served as the masts of the largest men-of-war.

Again today we met another caravan of emigrants from New Hampshire for the Black River 25 miles from Lake Ontario. It was made up of one family loaded with a lot of children. The women were in the wagon with their featherbeds on which in a confused heap, as is the custom, were the children, spinning wheels, chairs, and trunks. Two cows followed the wagon. These people travel economically. They feed their children with milk from the cows. They themselves have salted provisions and while stopping from time to time they make their own bread. I was astonished that they were going so far while the very country through which they traveled held soil so rich that it did not need to be fertilized. But the reason for this is that the speculative greed of the owners keeps the price of this land pretty high even though it is uncultivated. Land for land the colonist prefers an acre at a few shillings to an acre at 15 to 20 dollars. It is because of this that the population of the United States is so widely dispersed, but it is in this manner too that even in the most distant of her territories there form small nuclei of future populations. After reaching their goal these groups, in time, will spread backwards whence they came and fill those voids that they had left behind them. The Eastern and Middle States will doubtless populate that vast expanse of land bounded by the five lakes; while Pennsylvania, Virginia and much later Kentucky and Tennessee will send the excess of their population towards the immense plains of Louisiana. I do not believe that the two Carolinas and Georgia with their large estates under single ownership, their Negroes, and the scarcity of small landholders will ever need to send out colonists.

Towards noon we arrived at Utica. It is certain that the great Cato

[38] Niemcewicz appears to be joking here about the quality of the coffee. Palma Christi: Ricinus communis is the castor oil plant and there is no known use of this material for the adulteration of coffee. On the other hand this could be an error for Cichorium intybus or chicory, an American weed the root of which is used as a coffee substitute.—W. H. Ukers, *All About Coffee* (New York: 1935), 70, 258, 494; T. Bigelow, *op. cit.*, 17; V. P. Hedrick, *A History of Agriculture in the State of New York* (N. Y. State Agricultural Soc., 1933), 225.

would never have suspected that two thousand years after his death his name would be given to a town in a hemisphere the very existence of which would at that time have seemed to him a myth. The inhabitants of this place themselves seem almost as little informed about Cato as Cato was about America. To the question I asked them as to why their town was called Utica one of them answered, "*It was christened in compliment to a gentleman of some note in the old countries.*" The old Utica certainly did not grow so rapidly as the new one. Seventeen years ago Fort Schuyler was simply a wooden square called a fort which was adequate against the Indian Corps of Engineers. There was only a single house outside. Today one can count more than two hundred, with many workmen and shops even of luxury goods. I have seen jewelers' and wigmakers' shops. One of the principal streets was built up in only two years. We dined at a magnificent hotel built by the Holland Company,[39] which some time ago bought entire counties in this region.

We were visited by Mr. De Peyster,[40] a young man of 24 with the handsomest face I have ever seen. Whilst admiring its bloom and beauty I said to myself that in Paris and elsewhere with such a face he would be the delight of all the boudoirs. What, then, was my astonishment to learn that this American Paris was no other than a sea captain, that besides journeys to Europe and the West Indies he has been twice to Batavia and China, and that on the high seas he was the most fearless of all the sailors facing up to all the hardships. He has been on land for only a month with his kinsmen and all the comforts of life, and already he is bored and sighs for his beloved storms. One must not be very surprised to find the comforts of life so widespread among the inhabitants of the United States; they set about this in the only right way, beginning to work at an early age and fearing neither hardship nor danger.

In the evening we arrived in Westmoreland, passing through country more completely cleared and less sparsely populated. The roads here, being less often shaded by the high and ever-lasting forests, were both firmer and drier. Westmoreland is today a town of only three houses; in three years it will have three hundred. A few days ago an inhabitant there bought a lot of ¾ of an acre for which he paid 60 dollars. We found there a company of ladies and gentlemen who had come in a wagon from Lake Oneida, 30 miles, simply in order to take tea.

October 15th. The lodging and food were mediocre. Reed, the servant

[39] The Holland Land Company, 1796–1846.–P. D. Evans, *The Holland Land Company*, Buffalo Hist. Soc. Pubs., XXVIII (1924); O. Turner, *The Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase* (Buffalo: 1849).

[40] Captain Arent Schuyler De Peyster, born April 4, 1779, intrepid sailor and discoverer of (Peyster) Ellice Islands. He married Catherine Macomb, sister of the American General Alexander Macomb, Feb. 8, 1804.–J. Watts de Peyster, *Miscellanies by an Officer (Colonel Arent Schuyler de Peyster, B. A.) (1774–1813)* (New York: 1888), appendix, lxxiv-lxxx, clxxviii; Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr., *The De Peyster Genealogy* (Boston: 1956), 58.

THE HOLLAND LAND COMPANY'S HOTEL, UTICA, N.Y.

By Baroness Hyde de Neuville, September 1807

The New-York Historical Society

of M. B., poor fellow, has become sick; it is the first serious unpleasantness that we have had on our journey so far, although more than once we have been exasperated by stupidities. Mme. Belassis has given the sick man the most touching care. She has given up her place in the back of the carriage to him. She has given him drugs and cooling medicines. Whether things go well or ill, it is equally good to be with her. On this journey she is our main bulwark; she sustains us all and finds pleasure in everything.

We left early and came into completely new terrain. Here in the midst of forests, the enormous height and thickness of whose trees filled us with astonishment, we came from time to time upon clearings. In these one sees only the stumps of trees with a little cabin and, in the center of the clearing, on soil the surface of which was scarcely scratched, a few potatoes, some corn, a few chickens and pigs. It was quite surprising to see coming out of these huts good-looking and well-dressed women whose white hands draw water from a hole which serves as a well. When a traveler arrives in this place two or three years hence he will find a fine house, well-cultivated fields, and all the amenities of life.

We rose very early and arrived for breakfast at [ ], always through waste land or through country bristling with tree stumps and just beginning to be cleared. While breakfast was being prepared and

while M. B. went to inspect the pheasants, I hurried to visit an Indian village of the Oneida tribe. The tribe has no more than 750 persons scattered on a terrain of 80,000 acres. That is all that remains of the indigenous inhabitants of this vast region. The legislature of New York has made a law by which individuals are forbidden to buy Indian lands. The State reserves this right to itself alone and in turn it resells them to individuals.

In spite of the evil of these savages as told by modern travelers, in spite of all the charges made against them which they fully deserve in many respects, one cannot help but feel an interest in the remnants of a people at one time so numerous, absolute masters of this rich hemisphere, who today, dispossessed and pursued, are disappearing and soon will be wiped out. Going toward the village, I met many of them, both men and women. Some were running with great speed, the others going hunting, and it astonished me that they were still carrying bows and arrows. Both men and women are slender and extremely tall and they are knock-kneed. Their faces and bodies are more or less the color of copper; they have Tartar features with expressions wild or witless. The men have leggings to below the knees, then a clout to cover the genitals, the shoulders and the rest of the body covered with a blanket. Their hair is black, long and straight; sometimes they wear a sort of kerchief on the head but more often nothing. The women carry their babies lying on a small board swaddled in rags, tied together with rope and hung from their necks. A piece of cloth tied around their thighs serves them as petticoats and a blanket, like that of the men, covers the shoulders.

When I got to the village I found an American who gave me some interesting information about these savages. He told me that a marked change for the better has been noticeable among them during the last two years, due to a charlatan, or to a great man if you prefer, such as were Moses, Mahomet, and all the great reformers of simple people. This person—his name is Ga-ne-o-di-yo[41] [Handsome Lake]—who lives in Buffalo Creek, pretends to be a prophet and has had direct communication with Manitou[42] or the Great Spirit. He has been to heaven where he has seen the souls of Indians who during their lives had tilled the land and never got drunk. He has been to hell where he has seen the souls of drunken Indians tormented by the most cruel punishments. Beyond the principles of his doctrine and of his sermons, that one should not drink, and that one should till the earth, he teaches further that by not mixing

[41] Ga-ne-o-di-yo, misspelled by Niemcewicz in the French text as Canadia, was a Seneca sachem who received his vision in 1800 and whose sermons were handed down by his disciple grandson, So-she-o-wa.—H. J. Cookinham, *History of Oneida County* (Chicago: 1912), I, Part 1, 15–18; A. C. Parker, *Code of Handsome Lake* (Educ. Dept. Bull., 163; Albany: N. Y. State Museum, 1913), 9–13, 27–81.

[42] Manitou or Manito: Algonquin Indian word for one of the powers or spirits that dominate the forces of nature.

with the whites, by teaching themselves to be brave and hardworking, they would prevent the total extinction of the Indian race: they would multiply and would even withstand the white man. Although, unfortunately for these people, this prophet has come a little late; nevertheless if his counsel were to be followed by all the tribes and if he could succeed in impelling them to wipe out the vice of drunkenness, to settle down as farmers on the land, his prophecies could in part be realized.

Even now, I have been shown a building that is being put up to serve as a school for the children. In a church already built a white pastor[43] who speaks Indian preaches to them Sunday after Sunday. Here the squaws or female Indians sing psalms translated into their language in a voice which I have been assured surpasses in sweetness any that one hears among the white people.

My helpful American took me to the house of the chief of the tribe. His house is quite well-built and is painted red. In front of the door we found two royal princesses who were washing down two sorry little horses. There were some pigs and dogs; these made up the palace guard. On entering the room we found wooden beds all around, without any mattresses, only the same woolen blankets which serve as clothing. His Majesty the King[44] had been sitting on one of these beds and was just getting up. He was an old man of 86, tattooed on his chest and hands, and with enormous ears. The queen, wearing leggings and a piece of cloth around her hips, was seated beside the fireplace before a big cauldron. A little girl of two ran around the room. I was presented and received warmly. My guide, who knew a few words of Indian, said that I had come from the Old World beyond the great lake. The king is a great friend of the white man and has thus incurred the animosity of the tribe. His power is limited to negotiations with the white man and to presiding in council; for the rest, he has not the least authority over his fellow tribesmen. Here indeed is realized that dream of perfect equality dreamt of by the French demagogues.

The law of talion exists alone: that of property was unknown until they began to build houses, or rather huts, and to till the ground a little. This cultivation still amounts to practically nothing. I have been through the village; I have seen the fenced plots but rarely anything inside—here and there a few potatoes, a little corn. It is already a great change from the life of a nomad. I have even been told that a little further on there are some Indians who are rather good husbandmen, who have all sorts of

[43] The white pastor, to whom Niemcewicz referred, was very probably the Reverend Samuel Kirkland (1741–1808) who founded the Hamilton-Oneida Academy (1793) at Clinton for whites and Indians. The Academy later became Hamilton College (1812).—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: 1933), X, 432–34.

[44] Chief Skenandoah, who died in 1816 and was buried next to his good friend, the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, on the grounds of Hamilton College.—Pomroy Jones, *Annals and Records of Oneida County* (Rome: 1851), 865–68.

grain and stock, but that they are the envy of their compatriots. The king himself, who cultivates a considerable piece of ground, is exposed to continual pillage. It seems that instinct and the old customs of these people always attract them to a nomadic existence. I visited some of the huts of the ordinary tribesmen and returned there later with M. and Mme. B., but we found only women about. To them is left all the work of the fields and all the domestic chores. We saw very tall and beautiful girls digging potatoes and carrying them to their cabins. The men do nothing but rove about the woods fishing, hunting bears, deer, *raccoons,* squirrels, etc. They also make distant expeditions to the lakes. We have met them armed with excellent *rifles.* I observed in the village many old people, especially women. There are also many children.

Having traveled all day, either among the Indians or in the middle of the forests, having crossed one of the highest mountains[45] from where one can discern Lake Oneida, although the fog prevented our seeing it, what was our astonishment to find a large and beautiful house. It was the inn of Mr. Staniford.[46] The interior met the standards of the exterior. The neatness, the good meat, the service which was not provided by Negroes (they are barely known here) and therefore done the better, the industry and the attentiveness of our host, the certain hope that was given us that we would kill some bears tomorrow—all this put us in a rose-colored mood. The situation of the place is pleasant: all around, fertile country crowned in the distance by mountains which rise in a semicircle. It is here that Oneida County ends and Onondaga County begins.[47] It is a vast region holding the military reservation appropriated by the State of New York for the officers and soldiers who served during the War of Independence.[48] It extends over 1,500,000 acres divided into townships of 60,000 acres each. The names of these townships form a catalogue or rather an almanac of the great men of antiquity and of our day. They are, beginning from the north: [ ].[49]

The government held back 60,000 acres and Lake Onondaga. It is there

[45] Eagle Hill, altitude 1252 ft.—*U. S. Dept. of Int. Geological Survey, Manlius, N. Y. Quadrangle, Rev. 1957.*

[46] Mr. Staniford opened a tavern in Eagleville 1½ miles east of Manlius.—Joshua V. H. Clark, *Onondaga* (Syracuse: 1849), II, 220.

[47] Madison County was not created from Onondaga County until March 21, 1806. —J. H. French, *op. cit.,* 390.

[48] The Military Tract: a huge tract of land given to the soldiers who took part in the Revolutionary War. The final legislation was passed Feb. 25, 1789. The tract of land is in the Finger Lakes region of New York State.—A. C. Flick, ed., *History of the State of New York* (10 vols.; New York: 1933–37), IV, 21–22; V, Appendix Map of all purchases and reservations; O. Turner, *History of Pioneer Settlement of Phelps-Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester: 1852), chapter on Military Tract.

[49] Niemcewicz did not list the place-names in the original manuscript. For the lively controversy concerning these names see: Charles Maar, *Origin of the Classical Place Names of Central New York,* New York State Hist. Assoc. Quart. Journal Proceedings, XXIV (1926), 155–67; A. C. Flick, *op. cit.,* X, 314–19.

ONONDAGA SALT SPRING NEAR PRESENT SYRACUSE, N.Y.

Mural by E. N. Clark, 1936

Owned by the Utica (N.Y.) Mutual Insurance Company

that the salt springs are found.[50] It is given on lease to private individuals: today one can count 150 cauldrons which make five bushels a day. These sources are very rich; the water contains $\frac{1}{12}$ of its own weight in salt. It is of the most beautiful whiteness and of the best quality. If one had the workmen it could be taken out forever. It is a real source of wealth for this country which, lacking this commodity, a prime necessity in preparing the many salt provisions for its sea voyages, was paying immense sums for it to foreigners. However, the extraction of this salt by heat from fires causes a consumption of wood which will end by devouring all the forests in the vicinity. Up to 100 cords are burnt in a day. Already all the neighboring woods have been devastated. In order to spare themselves the hardship of carting the wood, they lead the water by canals into the depths of the forests. When all this finally fails, they will be forced to adopt the method used in other countries. That consists of making basins with little drain-ditches and raised ledges all around and letting the fresh water be evaporated by the sun's heat. The

[50] For another contemporary account of the salt works see: Benjamin de Witt, *A Memoir on the Onondaga Salt Springs and Salt Manufacturies in the State of New York*, Trans. of the Soc. for the Promotion of Agri. Arts and Manufact. in the State of N.Y. (Albany: 1801), I, 268–86. See also, E. B. Tustin, Jr., "Development of the Salt Industry in New York," *NYHS Quarterly*, XXXIII (1949), 40–46.

summer's heat here is powerful enough for this. The salt sells today at 4 shillings a bushel.

[*October 16th:*] The roads grow worse as one goes on and, as our horses become more and more worn, we have been forced to hire another wagon here. This transaction detained us for more than a half a day. We spent the time wandering through the woods. I saw under the sugar maples a lot of hollowed-out wood blocks in which in the spring they collect the sap which produces sugar. The bears, in spite of all the promises, have failed to appear. I killed one of them in miniature, i.e., a black squirrel. It is the first of this color that we have seen. It provoked a great curiosity: it was completely castrated. The people here assure me, and credibly so, that of a hundred male squirrels killed ninety are found thus mutilated, the reason being that the papa squirrel, in calculated lechery and the hope of enjoying the female more, thus castrates his male young.[51]

Our inn was constantly filled with passers-by and idlers. The American works, but he likes also to enjoy himself. Horse racing, gaming, and drinking are their favorite pleasures and pastimes. The first part of the day is spent at the races. I have seen in an inn, a merry group playing at *petit palais*[52] and, amongst them, an old man with white hair: alas, why do not vice and bad habits lose their strength and become old as our bodies?

This land, new as it is, thanks to abundant pasturage in the woods, produces herds of cattle and horses of a size and quality far superior to anything I have yet seen in America. Our innkeeper Staniford deals in them. He sends them to Connecticut whence they are exported to the West Indies. We slept the 16th in Onondaga at the house of a very sensible Yankee.

The 17th: To the right of Lake Onondaga we saw a reservation 4 miles square for an Indian tribe of the same name, which has three hundred members. It is also one of the Confederation of Six Nations. The six nations or tribes are the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, Tusca-

[51] A widely accepted belief at that time. The phenomenon in male squirrels is caused by the botfly warble (Cuterebra emasculator).—E. T. Seton, *Lives of Game Animals* (4 vols.; New York: 1929), IV, Part 1, 9, 10, 54 ff. I am indebted to Dr. Joseph Curtis Moore of The American Museum of Natural History, New York, who gave me this information.

[52] *Petit palais:* I have been unable to identify a game with this name. Mr. Albert Morehead, Games Editor, *The New York Times*, has suggested in a private communication that "petit palais" may have been the local name for a variation of any of those many games which allowed two kinds of bets, "grand" and "petit," and in which the places on the board where the bets were laid were called "grand palais" and "petit palais" respectively. A possible alternative explanation would involve a misspelling of "palet"—quoits. Had Niemcewicz said "in an innyard" this would have appeared the more probable explanation, i.e., that the men were pitching horseshoes. —"Palet," "Jeu," *Grande Encyclopédie sous la direction de Berthelot*, tome 25; "Le jeu du petit palet," *Encyclopédie de Diderot* (éditions Neufchatel, 1765), tome XI, 780–81.

roras, and Cayugas. Besides the land set apart for them, the government recompenses them for land-takings, pays them annual sums both in money and in blankets, munitions, and to a slight extent agricultural implements.

We passed near the charming Lake Skaneateles. One sees there a few pleasing houses, the embryo of a future town. A little further on, the road is frightful. It was in the middle of this mire that we met His Excellency Mr. Lewis,[53] Governor of the State of New York, who was returning from a revue of various militia. He was in a *sulky* with one horse, followed by a Negro; in this way travels the elected head of a country larger than many kingdoms. One day this will be dismissed as a fable.

In order to cool off our horses we stopped at the house of a good Yankee who, having just soaped his beard ready to shave, made the generous sacrifice of his soap to receive us, as he said himself while washing off the lather, "Till the bustle was over." He served us a dinner of brahmas or grouse,[54] with the most delicious white honey than I have tasted, and metheglin.[55] I recognized the famous *Lipiec*[56] of Lithuania. This whiteness, this exquisite taste, comes solely from the flowers of the linden, a very common tree here. The birch too is beginning to appear more often, but it is different from ours, the branches not being pendulous.[57] We slept by Lake Cayuga, which is abundant in fish and is filled with wild ducks and geese. A bridge, a mile and a quarter long, crosses the lake—a truly surprising thing in such a new and sparsely populated country. And, not the least remarkable is that Crevit, our innkeeper and dear fellow-countryman from New Jersey, tells me that in good weather not a single day goes by that he does not see crossing this bridge six wagons of families emigrating westwards.

The Cayuga Indian tribe which has a reservation here is not seen anymore. This retirement dates from an incident which will give an idea of their primitive character. One of these Indians killed a white man in cold

[53] Morgan Lewis (1754–1844), Governor of New York, 1804–1807.

[54] In the original French the phrase is written "des brames ou des gangarides." This is difficult to translate. The reference is probably to a fowl. The brahmas, a large Asiatic breed of domestic fowl, is known to have been in America at that time. Further, there is a game bird, the ruffed grouse, whose congener in France was the ganga. Ganga is a Catalan word used to describe the "gelinotte de Pyrénées."—Richard Parkinson, *A Tour in America in 1798–99–1800, exhibiting Sketches of Society and Manners and a Particular Account of the American System of Agriculture* (London: 1805), 299; A. Newton, *A Dictionary of Birds* (Cambridge: n.d.), 394; P. Kalm, *Travels*, I, 339; T. G. Pearson, *Birds of America* (New York: 1923), II, 17; *Grand Dictionnaire Universelle du XIX Siècle* (Paris: P. Larousse, 1865), VIII, 991.

[55] Metheglin: a beverage made from honey and water, originally Welsh.

[56] Famous honey from the district of Kowno, Lithuania.—Zygmunt Gloger, *Encyklopedia Staropolska* (reprinted, Warsaw: 1958), III, 219.

[57] The American gray birch, Betula populifolia Marsh., has its counterpart in the European birch, B. alba L., B. pendula Roth.—Graves, *Illustrated Guide*, 66, 68; Michaux, *Histoire*, II, 140; *Tree Identification* [in Polish] (Warsaw: 1955), 176, 180.

GENEVA, N.Y.: EXCHANGE ST. OVERLOOKING LAKE SENECA BOAT LANDING

By Baroness Hyde de Neuville, September 1807

The New-York Historical Society

blood. Taken and questioned, he answered that he had no rancor against the dead man but that he had felt a thirst, a pressing need to shed blood that he could not overcome, that he asked nothing better than that his own blood be spilt, that he had lived long enough. He was tried and condemned to be hanged. He certainly wanted to die but the means did not please him,[58] perhaps because of a superstitious belief the Indians hold that they will not be happy in the other world unless they shed the blood of their enemies and spill their own. My travelling companion, M. B., also feels from time to time this thirst and need to shed blood but, as he is kindhearted, that of partridge and quail satisfies him, though at present he longs to kill a bear. On our return we promise ourselves good and pleasant hunting in Cayuga. This night and morning there was a violent wind; the surface of the lake, however, was scarcely ruffled.

Oct. 18: The road leading to Geneva is sandy but good and smooth. We arrived there at noon. The situation of the town, which dominates an enormous lake, is very beautiful, but the thinly scattered houses and the nearness of great forests make it seem still a wilderness. The hotel is magnificent. Numbered among the new colonists is Mr. Nicholas, famous Jacobin of Virginia.[59] He has brought himself here, together with his principles of liberty, equality and independence, and with his

[58] The Indian, whose name was John, having been convicted of murdering one Ezekiel Crane, Jr., in 1803, was sentenced to be hung but asked to be shot instead.—J. H. French, *op. cit.*, 200, n. 6.

[59] John Nicholas (1756?–1819).—*Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 483–484.

70 Negroes who are neither free, equal, nor independent. It is thus that this zealous friend of liberty would introduce the colored man, would sow the first seed of slavery in a new country that without him would never know it. Because of its extreme depth, fishing is difficult in Lake Seneca and the fish are very scarce, but in compensation the district abounds in fruit of all kinds.

Oct. 19th. We left our carriage and horses here and conforming to custom, or rather to the state of the roads, we hired some wagons to which are attached coopered arches covered with canvas. This vehicle is certainly not comfortable but is the most suitable for these roads.

Here is the famous land of the Genesee that Sir William Pulteney bought in the first instance and that his agent Col. [Charles] Williamson divided up and resold in lots and peopled with colonists.[60] He was a man without peer for such a task; he had all the qualities—probity, patience, talent, and goodness—appropriate both to attract the settlers and to minimize the obstacles and ease the burdens inseparable from a first settlement.

We stopped at Canandaigua, a small town situated on the lake of that name, 14 miles from Geneva. The inhabitants of this place instead of enjoying the view, moved some distance from it and have settled themselves on a very gloomy site. This small town, inhabited by men from New England, prospers rapidly. I saw a bookshop there. The innkeeper Taylor,[61] in whose house we stopped, charged us 9 shillings for 10 eggs.

We continued on our way through country which appeared to me more completely cleared and populated than on the other side of Geneva. We slept at General Hale's [Hall's] Inn.[62] If his regiment was as well

[60] Sir William Pulteney (1729?–1805), born William Johnstone.—*Burke's Peerage and Baronetage* (101st ed.; 1956), 1198; *Gentlemen's Mag.*, LXXV (1805), Part 1, 587–88. In an association with John Hornby and Patrick Colquhoun, known severally as The London Associates or Pulteney Associates, Sir William Pulteney bought in 1791 from William Temple Franklin, agent of Robert Morris, a large tract of land. This transaction was made through their agent Charles Williamson (1757–1808) because of an existing law whereby only American citizens could own land. The land extended between the Genesee River and Lake Geneva and south into Steuben County. See Appendix Map, Flick, *History*, V; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 297–298. For contemporary opinion by foreign visitors on Williamson see: Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *op. cit.*, I, 228–232; Maude, *op. cit.*, 87. Williamson spent the money of his principals with a generous hand, not always to their liking.—H. I. Cowan, *Charles Williamson*, Roch. Hist. Soc. Pub. Series, XIX (1941), 290–91.

[61] Taylor's Hotel, so named when taken over by Taylor in 1803, was the principal hotel in Canandaigua and was known as The Hotel.—W. H. McIntosh, *History of Ontario County* (Philadelphia: 1876), 103.

[62] General Amos Hall (1761?–1827) came from Guilford, Conn., and settled about one mile east of West Bloomfield. He was Deputy Marshal of the Census of 1790 and State Senator, 1809–13. He commanded the American forces on the Niagara Frontier for a short time during the War of 1812.—W. H. McIntosh, *op cit.*, 216; T. Bigelow, *op. cit.*, 40–41; George S. Conover, *History of Ontario County* (Syracuse: 1893), 368–69.

organized as his inn, he deserves a medal. A farm of 600 acres, many animals, and many children make up his wealth.

Twenty-eight miles from Geneva.

Oct. 20. We breakfasted 12 miles further on at Hartford[63] and made today 36 miles and came to sleep in Batavia. The last 12 miles are execrable so far as the roads go. Batavia is the main center of a district of three and a half million acres which the Holland Company bought from the government.[64] The lands do not sell so fast since they do not have an agent such as Col. Williamson. Their price is from 12 shillings to 5 dollars. Only three years ago the first settlement was made in Batavia. There are about thirty houses, with an attractive courthouse. The town site is in the bleak lowlands. The day laborer is satisfied with 6 shillings and board. Their hearths or fireplaces are curious sights. They put 7-foot logs in them; our host assures me that in the depth of winter four fires consume three cords a day.

Oct. 21. Four miles further on we came to a place that one may call deserted. It is a stretch of country extending for 18 miles, covered with woods without any habitation, one could even say without any roads, for one could not give this name to a tortuous track full of tree trunks and rocks and holes filled with water. Whoever has not traveled these regions has no idea what a bad road is.

It was scarcely surprising then that all this wasteland constitutes the *Indian Reservation*, land still left to the poor savage. We met many of them, the men walking briskly, their guns on their shoulders while the poor *squaws* or women carry all the burdens. These were provisions, clothes, tomahawks or Indian weapons, and, besides all this, one or two *papooses* (that is how they call their children). All this load is attached by a band that they pass around the forehead. It is on this that all the weight rests. Many eat pumpkins raw or cooked, I do not know which. [Cooked.] We saw the remains of their camp. Their shelters have roofs of linden bark attached to four poles, built usually on the banks of streams. One saw there, lying about, trees completely or half burnt, some fallen and obstructing the roads in such a way that they must be sawed in pieces in order to open up the roadway.

We stopped on Tonawanda Creek to rest our horses and to eat a morsel ourselves. There is no more romantic spot than this, a clear stream running over rocks, the melancholy woods with a savannah or a natural meadow in the foreground, the breathless silence such as is found only in the wilds. This silence was interrupted by the report as M. B. shot at an eagle soaring in the sky.

[63] Hartford: In the original French manuscript this town was written "New Hartford" in error. Maude made the same error. The name was changed to Avon in 1808. —French, *op. cit.*, 382; Maude, *op. cit.*, 102.

[64] Niemcewicz is in error: the Holland Company's purchase was made from Robert Morris, who had bought the tract from Massachusetts. See note 39, above.

LOUIS SIMOND (1767–1831)
By Baroness Hyde de Neuville, 1810
The New-York Historical Society

We continued on, still passing through these savannahs and woods. It was just at sunset that we came upon any sign of habitation. It was the inn kept by a farmer, Vandiven.[65] We met there M. and Mme. Simon[66] of New York. They were returning whence we were going. Mr. Simon showed us some very beautiful sketches of Niagara he had made there. A scene no less picturesque was that of a group of Indians who had made their small camp and lighted a big fire in the forest not far from the inn. Men, women, and children had cast off their clothes to warm these and themselves. All these copper forms mingled there in the depth of the trees, illuminated only by the reflection from their fire, make a picture worthy of Girardon.[67] I envy neither their supper nor their shelter. Before nightfall a young Indian with a very pleasant face came to our room carrying a *papoose*, a rather pretty, smiling baby of six months. It was a girl with her ears already pierced and wearing long earrings, her little arms laden with beads.

The 23rd [22d]: I got up before sunrise and saw the Indians around their fire. We went on our way forever through the everlasting woods and along very bad roads. These lands belong to the Holland Company; colonists, all of them from New England, were laboriously occupied in clearing them. We stopped at Ransom's.[68] He paid 3½ dollars for his

[65] This was probably Peter Vandeventer, who purchased land in Township 12, Range 5, Section 8, 9 under the rolls of The Holland Land Company for the year 1801. The first town meeting of Batavia was held in his tavern in 1803.—O. Turner, *Holland Purchase*, 455, 520, 545; Crisfield Johnson, *Centennial History of Erie County* (Buffalo: 1876), 29, 108, 111–12. T. Bigelow, *op. cit.*, 45, 46, writes of Vandeventer and misspells his name as Vandevener.

[66] Probably Louis Simond (1767–1831).—George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America 1564–1860* (New Haven: 1957), 580. In one of his books Louis Simond refers to his visit to Niagara.—Louis Simond, *Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain during the Years 1810–1811* (New York: 1815), I, 217–19.

[67] François Girardon (1628–1715), sculptor.

[68] Elias Ransom (1762–1845) was born in Colchester, Conn., and came from Great Barrington, Mass. He lived in the first frame house west of Batavia at a place called Williamsville, 7 miles east of Buffalo, where he kept an inn in 1805.—O. Turner, *Holland Purchase*, 421, 454; J. H. French, *op. cit.*, 282, 283, n. 1.

NIAGARA FALLS PANORAMA,

By John Trumbull (1756–

land. He told us that, though the deforestation or *clearing* cost from 14 or 15 up to 18 dollars, there were frequent instances where one single harvest of wheat paid for the purchase of the land and all the expenses.

Eight miles more of woods and savannahs covered with wild strawberries led us to Buffalo Creek, which the Dutch have named New Amsterdam [now Buffalo]. It is a small town which in appearance already promises rather well, and which in time will become a center of business. There is already a rather large fur trade with the Indians. The waves of Lake Erie, that lies before us, simulate remarkably the roaring of the sea.

The streets are filled with many Indians, both male and female, much more lavishly decked out than all those whom we have seen so far, with earrings and with rings or disks hanging from their nostrils. I have seen some of them with one or two crosses of silver attached in the fashion of a pigtail and with all sorts of feathers in front. These Indians are of the Seneca tribe. They have a reservation a short distance from here and some of them farm there. They have put 100,000 dollars in the Bank of the United States, money provided from the sale of immense tracts that they sold heretofore. This action shows an awareness and forethought that is far from primitive. The interest from this sum provides them with blankets, arms, munitions, and other necessities. These are distributed among the families and there are never any quarrels; further, the English government gives them gifts. It is for this reason that we saw so many Indians assembled in Buffalo. Some were drunk and very disagreeable. One of the chiefs, the famous Farmer's Brother,[69] accompanied by a young man and a *squaw* came into the room and, to my great astonishment, the innkeeper forgetting the respect due his majesty prayed him

[69] Farmer's Brother, famous Seneca chief present at the Big Tree Treaty when the Indians ceded their rights prior to the Phelps-Gorham Purchase.

FROM UNDER TABLE ROCK

New-York Historical Society

to leave, which he did. Another, completely drunk, would leave the shop, where he made a great din, only after extorting a shilling. Nevertheless, they assure me that the Indians are in a progressive state of civilization, becoming less addicted to drink and beginning to devote themselves to agriculture. Very few know any English.

Besides the untoward incidents with the Indians, the inn offered a thousand others. I would have taken it for a Polish Jewish tavern, it was so dirty: with broken windows, no door that would close, and a mob of land speculators from all the corners of the United States. In town, the lots of half an acre sell at $60, further out at 5, 3 and 2 dollars. I have seen an old farmer from Massachusetts, who some years ago established his son in Cayuga and has come to buy land here for his grandson. Thus one single man would provide farmers for regions 200 miles apart.

The brisk and bustling spirit of the Americans thrusts them always forward: with virgin and low-priced land, already lost to them on this side, they emigrate to Canada. Thus having struggled for nine years to shake off the English yoke, and having shaken it off, they go of their own free will to submit themselves again. I believe that, were they to learn that even in Hell there were lands producing excellent wheat and corn and at six cents an acre, despite all the flames and all the torments, they would give up their *liberty and equality* to go and settle there. On the other side this adventurous spirit is perhaps a boon, a means that Providence has chosen to populate the vast deserts of this new continent.

The 23rd: We left as soon as possible the dirty, noisy, and uncomfortable inn of Mr. Crow.[70] It is 3½ miles to the ferry. We skirted the sandy shores of Lake Erie, one wheel of our wagon often wetted by its

[70] John Crow came to Buffalo in 1801–1802, built a frame addition to a log trading post, and kept a tavern on Crow Street which is now Exchange Street. The Mansion House replaced his tavern in 1806.–Crisfield Johnson, *op. cit.*, 125, 127, 147; F. C. White, ed., *A Descriptive Work on Erie County* (Boston: 1898), 126, 134, 140, 158.

waters. This fresh-water sea (for, considering its extent, one must call it thus) is as stormy and treacherous as its older sisters of salt water. Only eights days ago two or three American boats were shipwrecked there. The waves have thrown up on land six bodies, barrels, baggage,[13] and other goods. An American from Detroit, persuaded by his son-in-law, sold his farm and, for the $4000 he received, bought some merchandise and he and his goods were swallowed up in the abyss. This lake has rather a lot of fish; they fish here for white and black bass, some pike and whitefish, which is the most delicious of all. I noticed on the shore shellfish which, though very much bigger, resemble those of fresh-water rivers.

At the ferry the lake becomes narrower and is changed into a wide river. It is the famous St. Lawrence [actually the Niagara River], having its source in Lake Superior, passing through Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, and Lake Erie, then hurling itself from a height of 170 feet at Niagara and falling into Lake Ontario. On leaving Lake Ontario it takes shape as a majestic river [the St. Lawrence] and, crossing thus the two Canadas, discharges itself at Quebec into the Atlantic Ocean.

At the ferry site the rapidity of the current manifests itself markedly. We crossed the river, which here is more than a mile wide, in 12 minutes. The customs officer seeing that we were simply travelers without merchandise let us pass without asking our names, without going through investigation, without the search and examination so religiously followed for the torment of all travelers in nearly all the countries of Europe. We skirted the river for 16 miles, leaving Fort Erie behind us. The road would have been half as short if it had not followed the windings of the river. All this side is rather well inhabited and cultivated. The countryside produces every possible grain and fruit. Even in the open air the peaches thrive better here.

We arrived at Chippawa towards evening. It is a village of 50 houses with barracks and a garrison. We saw there a large number of long boats, the largest of which carry seven tons. They serve the fur trade and go as far as Michigan. Navigation ceases here; the force of the current will not allow any boat to go further. The famous falls are three miles away. Full of impatience M. B. and I ran a mile to see the rapids; before getting there, we heard a muffled and dreadful roar and noticed in the depths a mist of white vapors. Night was advancing, happy with this introduction to a sublime creation that we were to see tomorrow, we returned to our inn.

October 24: Thus finally we were near the object of our desire at the foot of Niagara, at the end of an uninterrupted and tiring journey of 20 days. I have neither the time for, nor the intention of, describing the falls. Volney has given an account with the greatest veracity and detail,[71]

[71] Constantin François Chasseboeuf Volney, *Tableau du Climat et du Sol des Etats-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris: 1803); tr. C. B. Brown (Philadelphia: 1804), 80–94.

and others before him have spoken as painters and poets,[72] but I must acknowledge that neither the spoken word nor the pen nor the brush can recall this scene faithfully. One must see it oneself to imagine a true idea of it—sublime and awe-inspiring. I do not describe it, I simply note the effects and impressions of this marvelous phenomenon.

We left our lodging at 10 accompanied by Mr. Street,[73] a gentleman living in these parts and an acquaintance of M. and Mme. B. Arriving at the place where we were yesterday, we saw the waters increasing in speed and violence, breaking against rocky, underwater ridges and forming three tiers of cataracts boiling with foam with a noise like that of a [*illegible*] in a rage. An island in the middle of the stream divides it; one part turns to the right towards flanking, precipitous rocks covered with yews and spruces; the other part, sweeping in a semicircle to the right, forms a broad and deep bay. A small island has been created there—use has been made of this land to set up many stone and saw mills. One climbs a steep hill and the woods to one's right hide everything. One hears only an awful, muffled roar. Soon the view of the rapids and of the river appears again spread out in broad expanse. Walking further, one comes to low ground—to a swamp covered with woods of cedar and *hemlock*, etc. After passing through, one finds oneself on a platform of rocks called Table Rock.[74] It is here that one sees the Niagara Falls in their full sweep; it is here that the river in forming a horseshoe hurls itself into an abyss 170 feet below. The breadth of this curve is about 1200 feet.

To the right a perpendicular rock separates these falls from another of a totally different appearance. Those in the horseshoe are wild, huge, and sublime: their volume, their enormous weight, their edges arching backwards, boiling, snowy, all throwing over the surroundings a pale green shadow; the appalling sound of these waters falling into the black abyss; the waves of foam that the rapids throw back from below, these

[72] Of the many poets who wrote about Niagara, Billardon de Sauvigny, Chateaubriand, Goldsmith and Thomas Moore may be listed. See Charles Mason Dow, *Anthology and Bibliography of Niagara Falls* (Albany: 1921), II, 695–97; Gilbert Chinard, *L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique dans la Littérature Française au XVIIe et au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: 1934), 405, 420, n. 1. Perhaps Niemcewicz did not know all these poets and their works. He did know Chateaubriand and almost certainly had read his work *Atala* which appeared in 1801.—J. Dihm, ed., *J. U. Niemcewicz, Memoirs of My Times* [in Polish] (Warsaw: 1957), 249; Gilbert Chinard, *L'Exotisme Américain dans l'Oeuvre de Chateaubriand* (Paris: 1918), 244.

[73] This is probably Col. Samuel Street (1775–1844) who married Abigail Hyde Ransom, daughter of Elias Ransom. He was the son of Nehemiah Street who had traded in furs in this region and whose widow settled with her children at Niagara Falls after his murder.—O. Turner, *Holland Purchase*, 311, 416, 421; Henry and Mrs. Marya Street, *Street Genealogy* (Exeter, N. H.: 1895), 55, 97.

[74] Table Rock: a promontory on the Canadian side used to view the falls. A part collapsed in 1818 and again in 1850.—A. M. Grabau, *Paleontology and Geology of Niagara Region* (Albany: 1901), 13.

NIAGARA FALLS, 1804

Oil painting by Antoine Phillippe d'Orleans (1775–1807)

The New-York Historical Society

waves of foam rising in clouds of mist and losing themselves in the air in silvery dust; the rainbow in the brilliance and the liveliness of its colors encircling these mists like a glittering sash; the rocks, the black yews, the wild untrammeled view: all these overwhelm the spirit with astonishment, admiration, and dread.

It is not like this in the other half of the falls, separated, as I have said, by a perpendicular rock covered with soil and a thick black forest. There, over a sheer wall 300 feet wide it hurls its crystalline mass majestically and one might add with elegance. Rock slides to the right have cut down the height on this side. It has, by comparison with the other, a calm and sublime beauty. A jagged cleft of rock to the right has separated a part of it to form a cascade which, beside these enormous torrents, appears small, but in fact it is more beautiful and more abundant in water than the famous Cascade of Terni.[75]

Our eyes ranged in turn over these sublime sites; we could not be sated. Several times advancing to the edge of the embankment, we looked into the depth, bristling with rocks covered with trees, planks, all the other

[75] Cascate delle Marmore in Terni, Italy.

wreckage of everything torn from the sides of this frightful place, all that is brought or hurled down by the fury of the current. One cannot contemplate these horrors without fright and without turning dizzy.

If Niagara had been known to the Greek poets, they would have embodied it with an awesome divinity. Ovid himself would have woven a delightful tale. Perhaps he would have imagined that the god of the river had fallen in love with the beautiful naiad, Niagara, that with the violence and fury known to streams, he had pursued her across the breadth of Lake Superior, then Michigan, Huron, Erie, that there, the beautiful one, on the point of being seized and with her virtue in the gravest jeopardy, was carried away by despair and threw herself from the pinnacle of a rock. The gods, touched by her fate, send the beautiful Iris to end a cruel and sad death by cutting the cord of her life and transforming her into a cascade. The savages, who are not great poets, have not deified her, have invented no stories to make her origins sublime. I, living in their country (imitating their spirit and style), have sought to repair this omission. . . .

Before leaving Table Rock M. B. killed a *woodcock* in honor of the Goddess and I gathered some flowers which sprang up at her feet. They were, I believe, a very beautiful Betonica[76] and a Trachelium.[77]

After we had refreshed ourselves in a neighboring house, we continued on our way; and after jumping over some enclosures and some gullies and crossing one of the prettiest meadows that one could see, the continual sprinkling from the falls giving them a fertility without equal, we found ourselves facing the falls which, if it is possible, from this side appeared even more beautiful. Just here the approach is not difficult and we enjoyed it in reasonable comfort.

The most difficult and, I may say, the most dangerous part remained—that is, the approach to the bottom of the precipice. The descent is by means of an almost vertical 50-foot ladder. There is no danger other than from dizziness that the view of the precipice might occasion. We reached the bottom without any accident; there remained a very steep height which because of the damp was very slippery; a fall I had, made me lose my hat. We took the path to the right and climbed up the side of the precipice across the scrub and the jagged rocks. Under our feet was the foaming torrent of the river and above our heads overhanging rocks. On top of these were trees, some of them with part of their roots en-

[76] The Betonica family is not naturalized in America. The flower Niemcewicz may have seen was probably either the wood betony, pedicularis Canadensis L., or a flower of the family Stachys, hedge nettle.—N. L. Britton and Addison Brown, *Illustrated Flora of the Northern U. S. and Canada* (2d ed.; New York: 1947), III, 126, 128.

[77] A flower of the Campanula family.—Britton and Brown, *Illustrated Flora*, III, 295; C. A. Zenkert, *The Flora of the Niagara Frontier Region* (Buffalo: 1934), 252.

twined in the rock, and the rest hanging in the air. The air was thick with fog and gulls, and eagles were gliding about. In spite of these horrors and difficulties we reached a point two-thirds of the way; there we were stopped short by a rock barring the way. This left above the precipice only a rocky ledge which was both very slippery and above all extremely narrow. Mme. B. wanted to risk this very hazardous ascent, and we had to employ all possible entreaties and add our earnest pleas to deter her from doing so. Reed, accustomed to the rocks of Scotland, went first and climbed the frightful gap. I followed him and in the most dangerous part took the hand he stretched to me and thus passed to the other side. Further on I did not find the passage so difficult but it was much more painful. At times we were walking but more often we were climbing on all fours, hanging onto the undergrowth, climbing rocks and then lying on one's back letting oneself slide below. Thus I came upon this dreadful sheet of water; I approached it, the gloomy air which hangs over this terrible cave, the heat, the sulphurous odor, the terrible noise of the water with all its weight falling from that great height in full force above our head—only a single step between us and death; all this, I may tell you, drives out all reason and leaves only an involuntary terror. One is well contented to have satisfied one's curiosity, but one does not want to prolong it for a long time. As I left this abode of horror and destruction, its image haunted me for a long time and I could not ever wipe it from my memory. Going toward the sheet of water I saw in the rocks of primitive sandstone some very distinct impressions of oysters and other shellfish. Others appeared in pieces of quartz. Under the great sheet of water and at the side were many stalactites. An odor and discharge of sulphur establishes it either as the source or the remains of a volcano. Absolutely exhausted by fatigue, streaming with sweat and damp from the spray of the falls which penetrated to my very bones, I had scarcely the strength to reascend the ladder. On returning, a good fire and a good dinner re-established my strength but the next day and for many days after, I felt shattered.

Oct. 25. We left for Queenston, wanting to push forward as far as Lake Ontario in spite of the wind and the snow. To our right was the river, and to our left some farms and houses whose appearance did not suggest that degree of well-being that one notices along the seaboard regions of the United States. One may certainly attribute this inferiority to the great distance from the sea and centers of commerce and the consequent much greater difficulty in selling produce and in getting the necessary commodities and, even more, luxury goods. For indeed, the industrious inhabitants of Canada are not shackled any more than in the United States. They pay, if that is possible, less taxes and as for chatter, political quarrels, papers and elections, they are wholly as free as their republican neighbor. They have told me that it will not be always

thus. Today the government leaves this country, so to speak, to itself as one leaves a little child to run in the yard without paying attention to what it does; but when it grows, the school, the rod, all the authority of the ruling class begins to make itself felt. And so, when this country becomes more inhabited, a greater coercion by laws, for the greater needs of the state, will become necessary with all the attendant disadvantages. It will enjoy, however, a boon more certain in a well-organized monarchy than in a republic—the boon of tranquility and surety.

Among these farms one house of very singular construction is remarkable; it is very long and narrow with a long porch, but it is rather attractive. It is that of Mr. Puisaye, leader of the unfortunate expedition to Quiberon; he and a few of his party, unhappy remnants of a foolishly conceived plan, have received some land in this part of Canada from the English government. Mr. Puisaye also enjoys a pension of 5 to 600 pounds sterling. He stayed here for a few years but, bored and lacking the opportunity for conversation, he went home to England.[78]

We arrived at Queenston in cold and snowy weather. The town will be rather attractive. It is the terminal of navigation on Lake Ontario and one of the storage depots for merchandise coming by water from Lower Canada, as well as for that which comes down as far as Lake Erie and, in order to avoid the falls, is carted here. The beautiful house of Mr. Hamilton,[79] which dominates the majestic course of the St. Lawrence [the Niagara], is the most noticeable feature. We had some letters of recommendation for him from Col. Williams.[80] He came to see us in the evening and invited us for dinner on the next day. We accepted, in the first place, because many hours of conversation with the principal inhabitant and the most notable personage in the region could not fail to be interesting and instructive for tourists and, further, because these same tourists were tired of the food of the inns and were not ill-pleased to refresh themselves with a good dinner.

[*October 26:*] Not wanting, however, to lose the entire day (the 26th of Oct.), we went in the morning to Newark, today called Niagara,[80] situated at the entrance to Lake Ontario opposite the American fort. The English have constructed one a little to the south under the name of Fort St. George. It consists of four bastions with curtains but without

[78] Joseph-Geneviève, Comte de Puisaye (1755–1827), at the instigation of the English, landed a small army of émigrés at Quiberon, arr. Lorient, on the Brittany coast. There it was defeated by Hoche in 1795 and 711 of the prisoners were shot on the field of Brech because of the rule of the Convention. Puisaye left Canada in 1802 for England where he died.—P. Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universelle du XIX Siècle* (Paris: 1865), XIII, 403, 539.

[79] Robert Hamilton (1750–1809), merchant prince and legislative councilor.—*Encyclopaedia Canadiana* (Ottawa: 1957–58), V, 70.

[80] Niagara-on-the-Lake.

any outside walls. There was a garrison there, as also in Chippawa and at Fort Erie. The soldier is dressed with the elegance and magnificence which distinguishes English troops from all others. It seems to me that the government indulges in unjustifiable expense in keeping troops in a country which has nothing to fear either from within or without. The snow and the fog have pursued us so that even from the edge of Lake Ontario we could distinguish it only imperfectly. The American fort is advantageously placed, though on the English side it is circled only by a palisade. It was built by the French as were the other buildings which were there. Here was our Ultima Thule, the last terminal of our peregrinations.

On the journey I have gathered together my observations rather poorly; always on the road, having only time to eat a bite, tired in the evening; in the midst of the noise of the taverns, not finding a quiet corner, I scribbled without order and in haste. It remains for me to glean them well and that is what I plan to do on my return journey.

At two o'clock we returned to Queenston. Mr. Hamilton came to see us and told us that a vessel was setting sail tomorrow morning for Kingston, capital of Upper Canada, and that if we got on her we could go from there to Montreal, the whole journey in five days; that from Montreal we could easily reach Lake Champlain, Lake George, and Albany, and in this way we would see new country and avoid the bad roads that we have had. It was extremely tempting to follow this plan. M. and Mme. B., having made arrangements which for them would make it impracticable, urged me to follow it. I decided immediately. The pleasure of seeing a new country, a country whose people and government each one foreign to the other, recalled the actual state of my own poor unfortunate fatherland, provoked my interest. Mr. Hamilton kindly sent one of his sons to Niagara in order to reserve a place for me aboard the vessel *Sirucae*. My imagination sailed in anticipation on Lake Ontario and let itself flow down the length of the St. Lawrence, walking along the streets of Montreal, tasting a thousand pleasures; in the midst of these happy daydreams the messenger returned with news that the vessel had left. I was brusquely awakened from my dreams; this is not the first awakening of this kind that I have had from the dreams of my life. I consoled myself with the thought that I am not to be separated from my amiable companions of this journey. . . .

From a very high mountain between Queenston and Niagara we saw the immense crystal—Lake Ontario. Like all the other lakes it is very stormy and many boats are lost there. Last year Judge Cochrane[81] with

[81] The schooner *Speedy* with Captain Paxton and all hands was lost off Presqu' Isle in Lake Ontario. Included among the passengers were Judge Cochrane and Solicitor General Gray.—Testament of Mr. Roger Bates in The Coventry Papers

all his escort of lawyers and notaries lost their lives there. It would have been consoling if chicanery had been shipwrecked with them but alas it survives whole. It was market day in town and we saw about a hundred farmers on horseback riding at full speed and flaunting their heavy-handed dexterity. The breed of horses is strong but heavy. It is probably a breed degenerated from the Norman horses introduced by the first French colonists.

At three o'clock we went to Mr. Hamilton's house. He is an old man, very intelligent and hospitable, a most attentive host, father of ten sons and one daughter, master of a large and beautiful house where everything suggests ease and domestic security. He gave us a very good dinner, and as excellent as the dinner was the conversation of our fellow diners, Messrs. Macdonnell[82] and Clark,[83] well educated Scotsmen who know the country well. The first is Speaker of the Assembly of Upper Canada sitting at York[84] and agent to Lord Selkirk.[85] The other is an inhabitant of Queenston who by his skill succeeded in diverting in a stream a part of the waters from the Falls of Niagara and employing them to drive many of his stonemills and sawmills.

The patron of Mr. Macdonnell, Lord Selkirk, conceived the idea of a vast settlement in Canada; for this purpose he persuaded many a family of Scottish farmers to follow him there. He established some of them in St. John.[86] This settlement has been rather successful, but because of extraordinary stubbornness, based doubtless on good intentions and a knowledge of the country acquired from books, he led others of his colonists into the vast plains of the St. Clair River above Lake Huron. There,[87] the heat of the summer, often reaching to 96°, the vapors from the bogs, and the circumstances inseparable from a land not yet cleared, cut down nine-tenths of these poor Highlanders.

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kept in the Parliamentary Library, Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records*, VII (1906), 165–66.

[82] Alexander Macdonell (1762–1842) was elected Speaker of the Legislature of Upper Canada, Feb. 1, 1805.—*Ontario Province Public Records and Archives*, 1911, Report 8; see also Legislative Minutes for February, 1805; *Encycl. Canadiana*, VI, 255, for variant spelling.

[83] Thomas Clark, Esq., agent of John Jacob Astor in Queenston.—O. Turner, *Holland Purchase*, 586; Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1931), I, 260, n. 29, 30, 412.

[84] York, now Toronto.

[85] Thomas Douglas Selkirk, fifth earl, 1771–1820.

[86] St. John, now called Prince Edward Island.

[87] Baldoon, named after a village in Scotland, in the County of Kent in Upper Canada where Lord Selkirk acquired 950 acres in 1803. Of the 100 colonists who went there in May 1804, 42 died.—George Bryce, *Life of Lord Selkirk* (Toronto: n.d.), chapters V and VII.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Peter Stuyvesant and His New York. By Henry H. Kessler and Eugene Rachlis. (New York: Random House, 1959. x + 309 pages, biblio., index. $4.75.)

Reviewed by Ellis L. Raesly, *author of* Portrait of New Netherland.

La Rochefoucauld described two kinds of curiosity. Probably it was the "one of pride, springing from a desire to know that of which others are ignorant," that drove Dr. Henry H. Kessler to discover which leg of Peter Stuyvesant preceded its fellow to the grave by almost three decades. Luckily the curiosity "of interest, causing us to learn that which would be useful," followed as a chain reaction and resulted in the production of a very useful and interesting history.

In the first two chapters of *Peter Stuyvesant and His New York*, Dr. Kessler and his co-author, Eugene Rachlis, by the employment of flashbacks carry the history of the Dutch settlement back to the voyage of Henry Hudson and even touch the struggle of The Netherlands for independence from Spanish tyranny. The remaining fourteen chapters fulfill the promise of the title by giving a full account of New Amsterdam and its last governor.

Occasionally on their journey through Manhattan's Dutch years, the authors come to places where they do not seem altogether at home in the 17th century. They go to some pains to compute the present-day equivalent of the payment given the Indians by Peter Minuit for the so-called "purchase of Manhattan." The natives who were party to this transaction had, of course, no conception of property rights, of fixity of residence, or of the permanency of contracts.

Again the reader might be misled when he reads that the "wooden horse" was a "popular punishment for military offenses." That Sergeant Gerard was able to dismount from one of these contraptions with a smile instead of a bad rupture was proof that Stuyvesant could temper justice with humor and leniency.

In the chapter on religion the governor is judged without due regard for the desperate circumstances that moved him to keep his church strong by putting pressure on the Lutherans to remain in it. His support of the principle of "liberty of conscience" marked him as a 17th-century liberal. In effect, he was saying what some of the Christian sects are today, that "We are not the only Christians, but Christians only."

Although one could point out other passages in which minor items might be questioned, *Peter Stuyvesant and His New York* is a very readable, accurate, and comprehensive survey of Manhattan and its people during the years 1647 through 1664. All aspects of their lives—economic,

social, moral, political, educational, and religious—are vividly projected upon the reader's mind.

The authors truly fulfilled their avowed purpose of destroying the false impressions germinated by Diedrich Knickerbocker. First of all, the present history demonstrates that the early Hudson Valley settlers, far from being idle, sleepy lotus-eaters, were a vigorous, adventurous, and courageous people. Secondly, it makes manifest that they were not merely a band of inbred Dutch burghers. Rather, the book reveals that, with the accents of Dutch, French, English, Italian, Danish, Polish, German, Portuguese, and Swedish intermingling in taverns and streets, Manhattan was already a cosmopolis. And finally, it portrays Peter Stuyvesant as a man who for the most part displayed strength, ability, and wisdom in coping with difficulties that were unremittingly onerous and ultimately insuperable.

George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat. By NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg by The University of North Carolina Press, 1959. x + 334 pages, biblio., maps, index. $6.00.)

Reviewed by PAUL A. W. WALLACE, *Associate Historian, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pa.*

Since the publication of Albert T. Volwiler's *George Croghan and the Westward Movement* (1926), new sources for the study of this colorful and important colonial figure have come to light. In particular, a trunkful of Croghan's personal papers has been found among the Cadwalader family papers, recently presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. These papers make possible a more intimate study of Croghan, the man, than had hitherto been possible. Nicholas Wainwright has taken full advantage of his opportunities. In a style that is easy but explicit, the author follows his subject through many years of adventures in the woods of America, and gives us a lively, yet dispassionate, portrait.

Croghan was a typical 18th century colonial product, of the school of William Johnson, whose deputy he was in the conduct of Indian affairs. Both men were ambitious, self-seeking, unscrupulous. Both were suspected on all sides of double-dealing. And both carried it off with an air of *bonhommie* and self-assurance that captivated everyone within range of their voices. But whereas Johnson's high connections and a certain statesmanlike know-how served to raise him to eminence and keep him there, the all-but-illiterate Croghan played the confidence game so patently in large things as in small that his most ambitious plans were not allowed to mature. The Pennsylvania commissioners appointed to supervise the Indian trade pronounced him "a person remarkable in this province for his mismanagement of every private trust."

Nevertheless he has not without cause been called "the Prince of Traders." Even when dodging arrest, a frequent predicament with him, there was something magnificent about Croghan. There was a sweep of imagination in the plans he laid to satisfy his "voracious land hunger." For a time he was the largest shareholder in the Indiana Company. He exhibited daring as well as mismanagement in selling 100,000 acres of land from a tract of which he owned only 23,852 acres. On behalf of the Vandalia (Pittsylvania) colony, with its projected 20,000,000 acres of land, he insisted that Pennsylvania's bounds fell twenty miles short of Pittsburgh. His courage was never questioned. He carried his trade into territory far beyond the circle of English influence, spending the winter of 1749–50 at Pickawillany. The French offered $1,000 for his scalp. He was extravagantly generous with money—his own or other people's—while he had it. With the Indians he was, in a manner, honest—not on any ethical principles but because he found it actually was the best policy with these people.

It is in his dealings with the Indians that his historical importance lies. "His ability to understand the natives, to gain their respect and to sway their opinions, was Croghan's most important attribute. . . . He was a superlative peacemaker" (page 308). The Ohio country in his day was filled with dispossessed Indians, confused in their loyalties, unsure of themselves. Here he was in his element. His buoyant charm worked best among people who were anxious, longing for a word of respect, an expression of friendship. He played a major role in "bringing the western Indians into the English interest."

Though the author disclaims attempting a "Life and Times," the background is skillfully, if lightly, painted in. There is a good account of the fur trade and the government attempts to regulate it; of French and English rivalry in the Ohio country and the emergence of new Indian power there; of William Johnson's and Jeffrey Amherst's conflicting Indian policies; of the Fort Stanwix Treaty and the part Croghan and Samuel Wharton played in bringing it about for their own gain; and of the rascality that pervaded the frontier during the troubled years before the Revolution, as illustrated by the sheriff's sale of 50,893 acres of Croghan's New York lands for £4,840—only a fraction of which, however, went to pay Croghan's debts, because "much of the purchase money was never paid, and the sheriff absconded with a portion of what was received."

The book is well organized, well documented, well written. Thumbnail sketches of Croghan and his associates keep the narrative alive: Richard Peters, "a complex of piety and worldliness . . . equally at home in saving souls and making fortunes"; Richard Hockley, model of business futility, whether running his own drygoods store or backing Croghan with borrowed money; Andrew Montour, impudent, drunk, and in debt; Jeffrey Amherst, Commander-in-Chief in North America, "From

evry genrous noble passion free / As proud and ignorant as man can be." The author has a gift for deftly summing up complicated situations, as on page 128 when he writes of the Quakers' Friendly Association that "their attempts to restore peace with the Indians became too entangled with their belief that the Penns must be branded for wrongs done to the natives."

There are good maps and an excellent index. The format is delightful. The book is a sound work of reference and at the same time it is a pleasure to hold, read, and ponder: a masterpiece of its kind.

Robert Rogers of the Rangers. By JOHN R. CUNEO. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. xii + 308 pages, illus., maps, appendix, sources and notes, index. $6.00.)

Reviewed by MILTON W. HAMILTON, *Senior Historian, Division of Archives and History, The University of the State of New York, Albany.*

Robert Rogers, the Ranger, provided more glamorous copy than any colonial fighter of his day, and there has been a resurgence in his popularity. Kenneth Roberts in *Northwest Passage* extolled his merits and defended his aberrations as only Roberts could. There was never any half-way business in the hero-worship of Roberts' narrator. Now TV and the juveniles have had their fling at the Ranger and there is little of the glamour that has not been exploited.

Hence one welcomes a serious biography based on extensive research such as this book by John R. Cuneo. Mr. Cuneo is an attorney and a military historian, and the book is sponsored by The Company of Military Historians. Until this appeared, the best treatment of Rogers was Allan Nevins' essay, appearing in 1914 with publication of *Ponteach*, the play attributed to Rogers. Much archival material has since been made available, and Mr. Cuneo has been zealous in its exploitation. Yet, Mr. Cuneo, perhaps due to his legal training, becomes the advocate and defender of Rogers at all costs, so that one wishes for some of the objectivity of the Nevins essay.

From Rogers' first involvement in counterfeiting (he was made use of by others), through his truly great exploits as a Ranger in the French and Indian War, his struggles against debt and personal degradation, his mission to Detroit in 1760, his command at Fort Michillimackinac with his arrest and trial for treason, and finally his double-dealing in the Revolution, followed by the fiasco of his Tory Rangers, the story is told in detail, but always with sympathy and justification for the role of Rogers.

Doubtless Rogers frequently got a raw deal in being unable to collect his accounts from the British government, whose officials were often unsympathetic, or unable to cut through the red tape of official regulations. But he took his own part with vigor, and he had many friends to aid in exploiting his reputation and in building his career. He undoubt-

edly had defects of character which account for the suspicions of those who were good judges of men, from Sir William Johnson to General George Washington. It is also evident that his ambition and self-serving were his principal motives. He saw no principle at stake in the Revolution. It is quite natural for a biographer to defend his subject, but it is incumbent on him to be fair to all concerned. Mr. Cuneo finds it necessary to blacken the motives of all who opposed Rogers or thwarted his plans. So he finds Sir William Johnson, "his implacable enemy," joining General Gage in weaving a web of intrigue. That Rogers went over the heads of these officials to get the strategic command at Michillimackinac, that he violated Johnson's instructions in contracting debts and in handling Indian trade, and that he had grandiose plans for a western state with himself at the head, seem to the author no justification for the attitude of these officials. It is a moot point whether Rogers' actions constituted treason as he was charged. But it is abundantly clear that his acquittal in the trial at Montreal was not (as Kenneth Roberts asserted) a complete justification, but the effect of the influence of the Montreal merchants, his creditors.

The notes by chapters offer argument, rather than specific documentation of statements, hence it is not easy to criticize the author's use of his sources. At one point he discards the testimony of George Croghan because "his attempts to minimize the Indian opposition color his reporting" (note, p. 291).

For some unaccountable reason (see Acknowledgments) the author did not use the manuscript collections of the New York State Library, from which come most of the published documentation for Rogers' exploits. He is also in error in his statement (p. 293) that Rogers' journal of Pontiac's conspiracy in Hough's *Diary of the Siege of Detroit* (1860) was not by Rogers. The original of this journal in the Sir William Johnson Manuscripts was destroyed in the capitol fire of 1911. It was identified as by Rogers by two scholars who used it, Franklin B. Hough and Richard E. Day.

In spite of its bias, which will be evident to the critical reader, this is an interesting and well-written book, and it adds much to our knowledge of the subject.

What Manner of Men: Forgotten Heroes of the American Revolution. By Fred J. Cook. (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1959. 335 pages, maps. $5.00.)

Reviewed by Alice Curtis Desmond, *author of* Alexander Hamilton's Wife, Bewitching Betsy Bonaparte, *etc.*

In this entertaining but carefully researched book, Fred J. Cook, a Newspaper Award winner and an experienced reporter for more than

twenty-five years, has given us a fresh approach to the American Revolution. He has written not about the generals and admirals who fill our history books, but of the "little" men and women who made the victories of the more important people possible.

As exciting as a front-page story are Mr. Cook's chapters on the adventures of fifteen heroes and heroines of the Revolution. Their names will be familiar to few readers. Your reviewer, who has written several books laid in Revolutionary times, knew of only two of them—Allan McLane and Marinus Willett. This is truly new material. Mr. Cook, a lifelong student of the American Revolution, has read extensively in old diaries, faded letters and records, and has unearthed actual tales of daring and patriotism that will absorb your attention far more than the imaginary thrillers on your TV set.

We learn of Allan McLane, the Delaware cavalry captain and spy, whom General Washington sent on his most dangerous secret missions; of Timothy Murphy, the sharpshooter whose one shot, killing General Fraser at Saratoga, shattered "the morale of the British and turned the tide of the most important battle of the Revolution"; and of thirteen more "unsung" heroes and heroines, nine men and six women. Their exploits are hair-raising. Reading this lively but scholarly book, you are both entertained and informed as the narrative pictures the entire war from Boston to Yorktown.

Your reviewer, a children's writer, liked especially the author's dedication: "For my son, Frederick P. Cook, II, whose help in research made this book possible." How could any book be dull with a lively, young assistant and critic at one's elbow! Father and son have turned out a sprightly and informative book that this reviewer heartily recommends to schools as supplementary reading in history courses and to adults interested in our War for Independence.

Blithe Dutchess: The Flowering of an American County from 1812. By Henry Noble MacCracken. (New York: Hastings House, 1958. x + 495 pages, illus., biblio., index. $5.25.)

Reviewed by Richard J. Koke.

Those who have had the pleasure of enjoying Dr. MacCracken's former volume, *Old Dutchess Forever*, can look forward to an added treat by the President Emeritus of Vassar College in this second volume of Dutchess County history beginning where the first terminated. *Blithe Dutchess* is interpretation of the first order, carrying the history of that Hudson Valley county through the 19th and into the 20th century. It is a book of breadth and scope written with relish in the same engaging and scholarly vein as the author's preceding treatise, and, like it, is filled with wonderful anecdotes about the people who live in its storied pages.

It is a book of neighborhoods and things and the great river which borders the county's western boundary. One reads of war and politics, of newcomers into the County, of transportation and the growth of industries—even of whaling which flourished briefly in the decade of 1835–45. But above all else it is a book about people who called Dutchess home: soldiers, statesmen and politicians, great landowners, farmers and town folk, river captains, churchmen, schoolmasters, artisans and craftsmen, painters, authors, musicians, and sportsmen who left a stamp on County life. It is they who make this book a very human story, including a fascinating discussion of the authorship of that famous Christmas Eve poem, *A Visit from St. Nicholas*, believed by some, including the author, to have been written by a Dutchess County man, Henry Livingston, Jr., and not by Clement C. Moore.

County histories can easily become stilted compilations of factual data, but Dr. MacCracken's handling of a tremendous amount of information is something to be envied by all who contemplate the writing of county history. He writes from the broad viewpoints of a humanist and scholar whose knowledge far transcends the limits of one county, and this wide perspective enables him to relate Dutchess history in broad context to the world at large. His writing combines the natural ease of the erudite raconteur with the skilled training of the perceptive scholar. It is, indeed, "history come alive."

In the closing pages of *Blithe Dutchess*, the author philosophizes on what has gone before and states that history, after all, is only a means to an end, "which is the spiritual revelation of a people." Ideas that mark the progress of mankind and the human mind could never have been given to the world except through history, "a life-enhancing ingredient in the soil of time, which enables human institutions to thrive." History, he says, is a "rewarding occupation," and, after more than forty years of thinking, if he were asked what Dutchess really was, Dr. MacCracken could only reply that both land and people were what Goethe deigned to call "elective affinities; we chose Dutchess and Dutchess chose us."

Soldiers of the Word: The Story of the American Bible Society. By John M. Gibson. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958. 304 pages, biblio., index. $3.75.)

Reviewed by Bernard A. Weisberger, *Visiting Associate Professor of History, University of Chicago.*

In *Soldiers of the Word* John M. Gibson unfortunately fumbles away a chance to write a fascinating book. The American Bible Society, whose history is here set down, was founded in 1816 for the purpose of getting the Scriptures into the hands of the "Bible-destitute" of America, most of them then in the trans-Appalachian wilderness. It has had a spectacular history of growth since then. Three times in the 19th century it at-

tempted the breath-taking feat of a "general supply," which involved the gift or sale (usually below cost) of a Bible to every person in the United States without one. Before it was very old, the Society also took on the job of supplying Bibles to foreign missionaries. Its editions and translations were shipped to missionaries from Hawaii to Labrador, and from Mexico to China. Although the organization began life with its small headquarters temporarily housed in the New York Hospital and The New-York Historical Society, it soon acquired its own presses, stock, and buildings, worth millions in the aggregate. By the end of its third quarter of a century, it had already distributed some 54 million Bibles and Testaments, using thirty languages in the United States alone.

Life was not always peaceful for the Society. It survived denominational controversy and charges of aggrandizing money needed for other kinds of Christian work. It outlasted many of its local auxiliaries and member associations. It managed to come through the sectional controversy preceding the Civil War without cracking. Its agents were interfered with, expelled, arrested, and sometimes killed in places ranging from Central America in the 1850s to North Korea in the 1950s. Yet through flood, war, and depression—and, it might be added, immigration, urbanization, and the growth of skepticism—it has kept up its work to this day.

All of this makes a tale of vast interest to the student of American culture. The Society's founding, in 1816, was a part of the early flush of American nationalism. Its operation through local auxiliaries, however, is an interesting reflection of the federal principle at work in American institutions. Lay-directed for the most part, it gave interesting evidence of the practical, non-contemplative character of much of American Christianity, often more interested in work to be done than in theoretical refinement of doctrine. The enormous program of the Society mirrors the optimism of a young country whose lay and religious leaders alike dreamed and planned on a grandiose, continental scale.

None of these implications are developed by the author. What is more, in neglecting to explore the controversies surrounding the Society's work, he has failed to discuss the religious significance of his story. It is good to praise men who gave their lives to spreading the Bible's message to all mankind. Yet there were serious men of good will, in the United States and elsewhere, who believed that Christianity had other and more important tasks, and that excessive regard for the Bible sometimes hindered the fulfillment of those tasks. Their side deserves a hearing. Moreover, a mature discussion of the changing role of the Bible in American life and thought would vastly deepen the importance of this book. Mr. Gibson leaves the reader with the impression that nothing about the American Bible Society has changed since 1816 except its size. Even the dramatic possibilities in the story of the wanderings and adventures of the Society's agents abroad are not really exploited, though the chapters are

full of random anecdotes of their work in jungle, mining camp, battlefield, and disaster scene. In sum, *Soldiers of the Word* is a splendid commemorative brochure for the American Bible Society, but in no sense a history. That such books are published and marketed as history is one of the reasons for the decline of historical reading as a leisure-time occupation in the United States.

Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party. By Robert V. Remini. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. viii + 271 pages, biblio., index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by James A. Frost, *State University of New York, State University College of Education at Oneonta, on leave as visiting professor of American history at the University of Ceylon.*

Professor Remini has given us a penetrating study of the political efforts of Martin Van Buren during the years 1821–1828 when he was a leader in the United States Senate. Tantalized by this brief view, the reader will await with impatience Dr. Remini's forthcoming biography of Van Buren who was the first New Yorker elected to the Presidency.

The politics of a democratic society are incredibly complex. For this reason historians often gloss over important phases of our political history. It is much easier to refer to Van Buren as "the Little Magician" or "the Red Fox of Kinderhook" than to search the piles of manuscripts, newspapers, and personal reminiscences seeking to learn how he managed political affairs. The author meets the problem head-on and resorts to research in depth to discover what actually happened and why.

Dr. Remini concludes that Van Buren was an honest man guided by what he considered Jeffersonian principles. To preserve these principles he determined to create a national party. The author does not presume that Van Buren alone was responsible for the establishment of the Democratic Party but he does maintain that the New Yorker played a paramount role. The book fully supports this thesis. In doing so it throws new light on the political infighting that brought Jackson to the Presidency and created the Democratic Party. The author maintains a careful, disinterested scholarship. Under his pen Van Buren emerges as a complicated personality combining the qualities of intellect, tact, courage, patience, and resourcefulness which are essential to the master politician.

Historians will reconsider Van Buren's contribution to the State and national scene in the light of Dr. Remini's findings. It is shown that the New York Senator sincerely desired the Tariff of Abominations (1828) to become law and that he designed it to win needed support for Jackson in the Western, Northwestern, and Middle States. Van Buren's relationships with such noted men as John C. Calhoun and DeWitt Clinton are re-examined and receive new interpretation.

Perhaps the best contribution of this interesting study is the account of Van Buren's system of party organization. The use of basic principles and of the caucus or nominating convention to insure unity of purpose is described. The techniques of enforcing discipline through a party newspaper and patronage are discussed. The author also reveals the careful study and long thought which went into every important move made by the Van Buren forces. This is the kind of stuff that makes a democratic government function and historians need to pay careful attention to it if they are to give their best service to the Republic.

The Jacksonian Era, 1828–1848. By Glyndon G. Van Deusen. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959. xvi + 291 pages, illus., biblio., index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by Robert V. Remini, *Assistant Professor of History, Fordham University.*

Professor Glyndon Van Deusen is one of the most distinguished historians of the Jacksonian period in American history. His biographies of Henry Clay, Horace Greeley, and Thurlow Weed are well known and greatly admired. In this New American Nation volume, edited by Henry S. Commager and Richard B. Morris, he has drawn on his profound knowledge as an historian and skill as a writer to present a concise and lively exposition of national developments from the period of Andrew Jackson's election to the Presidency through the Mexican War. It is extraordinary how much material is packed into this volume. Of necessity some events must be disposed of quickly, but few—unfortunately there is no mention of Van Buren's ten-hour law—have been neglected. Intellectual and constitutional history are purposely omitted since they will be treated in separate volumes in this series.

The author does not attempt a new interpretation of the era but he does synthesize a great deal of recent scholarship to the extent that this is possible. Although he endeavors to give a balanced account of the party battles between Whigs and Democrats, he tends to favor the party of Clay, Webster, and Adams. To a certain extent, therefore, this is Jacksonian Democracy viewed from the Whig position.

Mr. Van Deusen finds the Jacksonians allied with the "common man" and seeking to serve his interests but lacking adequate concepts of "economic methods by which liberty and equality might be achieved and maintained. . . ." The Whigs, on the other hand, were tied to the business group, and although conscious of the economic needs of the time and offering a national program which would serve those needs they were at a loss to understand the "most fundamental aspirations of the ordinary American citizen." Both parties were evenly matched in popular strength and both catered to middle-class ideals.

After the panic of 1837 and the decline of the reform movement, the Democrats became expansionists. The lines dividing the two great parties largely disappeared and Mexico was despoiled in the name of Manifest Destiny. Expansionism reawakened the slavery issue and with it a new sectionalism. A realignment of parties was imminent as the nation entered the violent decade of the fifties.

In sum, this is the most complete, balanced, well-written, and up-to-date monograph on the Jacksonian era now before the public. An annotated bibliography adds to the general excellence of the work.

The Victor and the Spoils. By Ivor Debenham Spencer. (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press, 1959. xii + 438 pages, biblio., index. $8.00.)

Reviewed by James J. Heslin.

For forty-one years William Learned Marcy (1786–1857) was a prominent public figure but the publication of this book marks the first full-length biography devoted to him. Marcy was a Senator from New York State (1831–32); Governor of New York for three terms (1833–38); Secretary of War in Polk's cabinet during the Mexican War; and finally, Secretary of State under President Franklin Pierce. Apart from these major offices he served in a number of minor posts and maintained a constant interest in New York State politics.

Some evidence of the importance attached to Marcy by his contemporaries may be deduced from the fact that 10,000 people filed past his bier when his body lay in state in the assembly chamber in Albany, after his death on July 4, 1857, at Ballston Spa, New York. Fifty thousand spectators viewed the funeral procession which was attended by two ex-Presidents, the Governor of New York, and four ex-governors of the State.

William L. Marcy was a significant contender for the presidential nomination in the Democratic Convention held at Baltimore in 1852, and his subsequent appointment as Secretary of State was a natural development. This office represented the apex of his career. The expansionist sentiments of the 1850s would have created difficulties for any Secretary of State but the domestic turmoil during Pierce's harassed administration contributed further to Marcy's problems. Disturbed by the slavery issue within the country, Pierce embraced an active foreign policy which, while probably intended to deflect attention from slavery, placed a burden on the diplomatic branch of government. Nonetheless, considering the general weakness of the administration, Marcy did well.

In evaluating the long career of William L. Marcy the author emphasizes two faults in the man: an eagerness for office and a refusal or inability to make policy decisions for himself. As a result, Marcy often

pursued a course of action which was alien to his own native shrewdness. This is a detailed and extensive study, although shortened from its original projected length, of a neglected political figure in an interesting period of American history. If at times it seems that William L. Marcy the man is obscured by William L. Marcy the politician, it may be that a life devoted so exclusively to political affairs must inevitably result in a fusion of the private and public man.

Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States. By ELEANOR FLEXNER. (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959. xiv + 384 pages, illus., biblio. note, index. $6.00.)

Reviewed by OTELIA CROMWELL, *biographer of Lucretia Mott.*

"I have all the rights I want." This was the retort of many American women to the campaign for suffrage inaugurated at Seneca Falls, New York, in July 1848; and indeed some of the pioneers at Seneca Falls did not desire to include the denial of suffrage among the grievances that humiliated them. A demand for the vote, the women thought, would be going too far, asking for ridicule. But rallying these semi-conservatives was the logical Elizabeth Cady Stanton of New York, who succeeded eventually in retaining the suffrage plank in the "Declaration of Principles" adopted at the momentous meeting.

Among the histories of suffrage for American Women, *Century of Struggle* is a mature, comprehensive study of the far-reaching effects of the discrimination suffered by those who lacked a voice in making the laws that governed them. Thus the author presents a picture of meager educational advantages, unfair practices in organized and unorganized labor, hurdles frankly erected against women in the professions, double standards in legal regulations, particularly as affecting marriage, divorce, and other aspects of family life. But this book also includes an account of the heartening evidences of an approach to fairer solutions of the problems of American society.

In the final analysis of the situation, concession is made to the significance of the vote as preëminently the solution to complete and assured freedom. The struggle to achieve suffrage, therefore, becomes the dominant factor in this logically developed account of the social advancement of the American woman. Then, step by step the canvas is unrolled to reveal the efforts made by the women of America to possess the vote.

An account of the long and discouraging struggle to reach this aim becomes a record of the years bridged by the fantastic victory won by the women in the State of Wyoming to the final act of the drama when the Suffrage Amendment was passed by the Congress of the United States and subsequently ratified by the States. Note is made of the labors

of many valiant women—and some men. After Mrs. Stanton and Susan B. Anthony one sees Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Alice Paul, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Maud Wood Park, and others who were in the vanguard as the ranks moved onward to success. It is a saga of endurance and effort and suffering, of injustice and labor and frustration, of clear thinking, inspired leadership, of courage and vision. And in this book the story is well told.

To the author the goal of complete justice for women has not yet been attained. The victory won is viewed rather as an assured step toward the ultimate road to freedom.

The War for the Union. Volume I: The Improvised War, 1861–1862. By Allan Nevins. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959. x + 436 pages, illus., appendices, biblio., index. $7.50.)

Reviewed by James J. Heslin.

The industry and zeal of amateur and professional historians in the field of Civil War history is one of the minor wonders of our day, matched only by the interest with which a substantial portion of the reading public receives the results of their labors. The remarkable aspect of this publication phenomenon is that many of these books are well written and show evidence of intelligent research. Inevitably, there are some authors who, because of past performance, command more attention than others, and Allan Nevins is one of these. A significant theme—the transformation of the nation under the stress of the conflict—underlies the whole of his projected 10-volume work on *The Ordeal of the Union.* In this, the fifth volume of the series and the first of four to be devoted to the war itself, Allan Nevins continues his splendid synthesis. When completed, it will give us a survey of the significant period in American history from the Mexican War through Reconstruction.

In *The Improvised War* Dr. Nevins displays to the full the qualities which have earned him his reputation, and in every way this is an important book about the Civil War. With a sure grasp of his material he depicts the turmoil of events and personalities during the first year of the war, as both North and South slowly grew aware of the magnitude of the struggle before them and the inadequacies of their preparations for it.

". . . the people are Hero in the Civil War . . ." writes the author in his preface, reserving to the next volume an analysis of the leaders of the North and South during the struggle. The description of the clumsy antics of minor professional military and political leaders is frequently scathing, but the analysis of the social history of the period is the great strength of the book. Military operations are not treated in detail and the Confederacy does not receive as much attention as is accorded to the Union (since, as the author notes, these matters are treated in detail in

numerous other books), but there is an excellent account of the western theatre of the war and its stormy figure, John C. Frémont.

It is a genuine art to import a sense of suspense to events whose outcome we already know. The confusion and waste as the Union set about raising an army and navy is a familiar story by now even to the non-specialist in the field but Allan Nevins has succeeded in presenting this situation in such a manner as to instill a desire to read further and reach the denouement. This is historical writing of the first order.

From the Cannon's Mouth: The Civil War Letters of General Alpheus S. Williams. Edited with an introduction by MILO M. QUAIFE. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press and The Detroit Historical Society, 1959. x + 405 pages, illus., notes, index. $7.50.)

Reviewed by JOHN E. PARSONS, *a member of the Advisory Council of the Civil War Centennial Commission.*

General Alpheus S. Williams, though merely a brigadier, was the only Union officer, not a West Pointer, to command a corps at Gettysburg under Meade and another in Georgia under Sherman. This is a collection of letters to his daughters, written from the field. As commander of a division, he saw action at Cedar Mountain, 2d Bull Run, Antietam, and Chancellorsville. After Gettysburg he led the 20th Corps during the Atlanta campaign and the March to the Sea.

The letters are full of martial details, revealing an acquired taste and military proficiency in the writer. No comment is more candid than when in South Carolina, "the fountain-head of rebellion," Gen. Williams noted: "The soldiers quietly took the matter into their own hands. Orders to respect houses and private property not necessary for subsistence of the army were not greatly heeded. Indeed, not heeded at all. Our 'bummers,' the dare-devils and reckless of the army, put the flames to everything and we marched with thousands of columns of smoke marking the line of each corps." Seldom has Sherman's picnic, so-called, been more authoritatively described.

The volume is skillfully annotated by Dr. Quaife, who has also provided an introduction giving the background of the General in Detroit and his subsequent history. Perhaps in this connection it is permissible to quote from another letter, not part of the book, written by General Williams after the war to a former staff officer (the father of our Society's Third Vice-President):

"Little Rock, Ark., Dec. 11. 65

"My dear Wickes,

"I am glad to hear from you after much anticipation of that pleasure. . . . I have been released from the isolation of the Ouachita River District [Southern Arkansas] and transferred to Command of Central Dist. Headquarters, Miss. I anticipate an early transfer to civil life. At least such are

the rumored indications at Washington. That list of 300 General Officers to go out must include my name. . . .

"I had an entirely new staff in the Ouachita River District and now I have another. . . . They are very fine gentlemen but I miss sadly my old staff. My heart sinks when I recall men and scenes of the old Division & I feel truly lonely and melancholy. Such things can be only once in a lifetime. . . .

"I got along very well with the freed men down in my old District. It was so far from the North that I could exercise a stringent execution of justice. We got up a very healthy respect for military authority and law,—though I think nigger shooting and whipping will never stop with this generation. . . . General Sherman is here on a visit and was natural as ever. . . ."

Genealogical Research in England and Wales. By David E. Gardner and Frank Smith. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft Publishers, 1956 and 1959. 2 vols., 296, 432 pages, illus., maps, tables. $3.00 and $3.95.)

Reviewed by R. W. G. Vail.

There is no more enthusiastic and active genealogical organization in this country than the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of which the authors of these volumes are staff members as well as instructors in the subject at Brigham Young University, the only American university giving thorough training in this interesting subject. Both authors received their training in genealogical research in England and are thoroughly familiar with the genealogical resources of the British Isles.

These invaluable manuals, with at least one more to appear later, are indispensable to any library, professional or amateur genealogist seriously interested in searching for records of our British ancestors. Nothing comparable to them has been published here or abroad.

The first volume tells what types of records exist in print or in manuscript and how to use them, and the second tells, county by county (and with maps) where to find them and how to get access to them. The records described include probate records, census records, military, naval and merchant shipping records, and such vital statistics as civil and church records of births, baptisms, marriages and deaths. They include not only the records of the Established Church but also of Nonconformists, Jews and Roman Catholics. There are chapters on planning research and recording what is found so that it will have significance and one interesting chapter on surnames, given names, and the problems of dialect. Both volumes are simply and clearly written, well arranged, and indexed. They will be used with gratitude and enthusiasm by genealogists here and in the British Isles. British scholarship and American initiative have given us two important manuals with a third one in preparation.

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